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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable, as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. *The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please.* Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

BOURBONIC PLAGUE

by VERNON BARTLETT

IT is a truism that a period of transition is dangerous and unpleasant, but it is comforting to be reminded of it when we are surrounded by such obvious dangers and unpleasantnesses. The temptation otherwise is to believe that each change must be disastrous, and to assume that 1938 is going to be even worse than 1937 and that by 1939 or 1940 we shall see the collapse of everything we value. For transition is a form of transport from one period to another and all transport has been so speeded up that we look around at the world in much the same bewilderment as some old lady up from the country might show if she were stranded in the middle of Oxford Circus. Our policeman, the League of Nations, is nowhere to be seen and it takes us time to analyse for ourselves the rules which guide the traffic, or, indeed, to discover that there are any rules at all.

I have been looking back through the sentences with which WORLD REVIEW has greeted previous New Years. A melancholy job. And what a temptation to say : "I told you so !" The failure to make concessions to Germany when they would not have appeared to be a premium on bullying ; the failure to rush supplies

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to China and to refuse Japanese exports when China was prepared to fight for our interests as well as her own ; the failure to carry on with sanctions even after the Duce had said he would consider our persistence an unfriendly act—how much these cowardices have complicated the future of the British Empire.

But have they necessarily brought us much nearer another world war? To what extent do we confuse the welfare of the British Empire with that of civilisation, in the same way as the aristocracy in this country is apt to confuse the receipt of its dividends or the return of its Old Etonians to Parliament with national prosperity? There can be no possible doubt about the decline of those Great Powers, Great Britain and France, which dictated the Versailles Peace, but there may be genuine doubt as to whether the world will be the worse for that, and as to whether the decline will continue.

* * *

One cannot write without bitterness of the diminishing influence of one's own country. And yet it is surely advisable to face facts in order to prepare for the future. It is too easy to put all the blame on the dictator states and to argue that we would like peace but they won't let us have it. We can have it, and at a price so small when compared with the ravages of war that one is amazed by the folly of those who refuse to pay.

The League of Nations policeman is nowhere to be seen because we, the democrats, have hung a millstone about his neck and thrown him into the river. The millstone was whitewashed with some high-sounding phrase about the "sanctity of treaties," but that is no consolation to those of us who believe in the utility and necessity of a police force. We have made the same blunders as were made a little more than a century ago by the artificers of the Holy Alliance, and only the genuine detestation of war because it is now carried out on such a large scale and the wise drafting of the Covenant have kept our League in existence for longer than their Alliance. We have learnt and forgotten no more than the Bourbons.

What has been our greatest blunder? Surely, the attempt to deny the inevitability of change. The gap between what the dissatisfied powers demanded and what the satisfied were prepared to grant was allowed to grow wider. The counsellors of compromise have only been heard some six months too late. The idea of collective

security against war—one of the greatest changes in human policy that has ever been made—should have appealed above all to the younger generations ; it has been so misused that it now appears to millions of young people as an instrument in the hands of the reactionaries.

We have allowed the initiative to pass to those who sincerely believe that change can only be brought about by war or the threat of it. They do not want to fight any more than we do, but they are, for one reason or another, more anxious to see alterations in the political, economic or geographical situation. Those alterations will inevitably take place and it still depends as much upon us as upon them whether they take place only as a result of war. The victors seem, on arrival in Paris to draft their treaties of peace, to have been attacked by a Bourbonic plague which prevented them from forgetting their hatred against Germany or from learning that the League, to succeed, must make changes by peaceful negotiation before the pressure to change them by force, or the threat of it, became overwhelming.

Nor have we yet recovered from that plague. It leads Conservatives to pass unanimous votes at their party conference against the retrocession of a single mandated area or the development of international control over a single British colony (as though the colour on the map of a small patch of Africa were more important than the avoidance of war) ! It leads people who claim to be supporters of

PRUDENT

"Hallo ! Sell my 'Shanghai Tramways' and buy me a tank."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris.

the League to find all sorts of excuses for acts of open aggression. It leads ever larger sections of public opinion in every democratic state to refuse all risks in foreign affairs except, possibly, in defence of their narrowest national interests.

The main symptom of this Bourbonic plague is loss of energy and courage. The cure is obvious—the avoidance of those mistakes which in the past have always encouraged some young State to make war and allowed it to achieve victory. But that involves a strict respect for and vigorous defence of a collective system and that, in turn, involves a good deal of courage, even though the military obligation is made much less specific than it is in the existing League Covenant. .It involves, in fact, a complete reversal of the miserable half-way policy we have followed since we tried the system of collective action against Italy and then ran away from it.

The point that needs to be pressed home is that changes will take place anyhow and that the nature of the changes will depend quite as much upon satisfied as upon dissatisfied nations. Had the victors of 1918 shown more courage in modifying their own peace treaty there would be no desperate governments trying to destroy the League in order that they may take the law into their own hands against any governments weaker than themselves. Had collective action to check these desperate governments once been carried through despite the risks it involved, international confidence would be so increased that the movement in favour of peaceful modification of unfair treaties would be overwhelming.

* * *

Germany will, sooner or later, gain a footing in Africa, but that is no reason why, in panic, we should hurry forward to offer her everybody's colonies except our own with no thought for the interests of the indigenous inhabitants. Poland has now staked her colonial claim and other countries will follow her example. Ultimately, then, the only reasonable solution will be some international form of government over all non-self-governing territories and some international pooling of the raw materials that come from them.

If that were to happen the present alarming German campaign for colonies would prove merely a valuable impulse towards a necessary change—" necessary " because the present boastful talk about never surrendering a yard of " our " colonies (talk which you hear even in

smaller countries, such as Portugal and Belgium, who could not conceivably defend their colonies) is archaic and absurd. Such a solution of the colonial problem depends in the last resort more upon us than upon Germany, and the price we should pay would be small in comparison with the psychological and economic advantages that would follow.

In the same way, Germany will, sooner or later, develop the backward countries of South Eastern Europe, as we have developed our Empire and as the Americans are now developing Central and parts of South America. But that is no reason why British politicians and publicists of great standing and integrity should be carrying on a campaign to denigrate Czechoslovakia, to assure us that every Austrian prays to be ruled from Berlin or Munich, to offer any country to Germany in the strange hope that the Germans, with their appetite for domination thus whetted, will never turn envious eyes towards the wealth of the British Empire. It is not enough to claim that Germany only wants to bring together into one spiritual or territorial unit all members of the German race, since she is even now engaged actively in a war in Spain, where there are no Germans except those who have been sent to fight.

The countries in South Eastern Europe need German technicians and German markets but only in conditions which assure them that they will maintain their independence. And those assurances depend as much on our behaviour as on that of Germany. The Bourbonic plague which drives these honourable Englishmen to encourage such dishonourable campaigns against small and poor countries that have, in fact, treated their minorities with far more tolerance than certain minorities are treated in Germany is misplaced and maladroit.

The fear is misplaced because Germany stands no chance of winning a war in the next five years unless she can get Russian or Roumanian petroleum, to say nothing of other raw materials which would be cut off from her much more rapidly than they were during the last war. It is maladroit because the surest way to give Germany access to that petroleum with a determination to use it for purposes of conquest is to allow her to believe we do not mind whether Czechoslovakia, Austria and the others go on existing as independent states. Only if the governments in Prague and Vienna felt secure could they afford to welcome German economic penetration and would Germany

be induced to try economic penetration by peaceful means.

And there is this consolation. The more ruthless and ambitious the German method of penetration the weaker National Socialism inside the German frontiers will become. It will be diluted by bitterly resentful non-German minorities. Each new effort by Italy to expand will increase the strain on her resources, for these totalitarian states have no more discovered the secret of carrying on in defiance of the most elementary economic laws than had the United States during those boastful months before the slump. The more Japan tries to extend her conquests in China the more certain it is that a national feeling will develop among the four hundred million Chinese which will ultimately drive the few hundred thousand Japanese invaders into the Yellow Sea.

It cannot be too often repeated that time is on the side of the democracies. They have the greatest of all possible assets—the desire of every living creature to be free of unnecessary restraints, and their present decadence and weakness is due entirely to their own failure to remove such restraints from people in countries now under dictatorships. If they cannot even yet learn that democracy must work towards the removal of spiritual and economic barriers to greater freedom of intercourse, then their democracy will, very rightly, disappear, and men will pass through a period of dictatorships and probably of wars to a new struggle for freedom. Let them reflect, for example, on the disturbing influence they have introduced in the world by their fatuous and complacent contention that Germany was not fit to govern colonial territories or their humiliating rejection at the Peace Conference of the Japanese request for a declaration that all men are equal, irrespective of colour or creed. Let them reflect upon the weapons they thus placed in the hands of German and Japanese militarists and learn a little more than the Bourbons did.

There is this last consideration. Despite the superficial differences and the division of mankind into conflicting "isms," the drift is towards the same sort of government everywhere, although by very different methods. In Russia, Communism is giving place to nationalism. In Germany and Italy capitalism is compelled to give up more and more of its privileges and the state takes more and more control of industry. In Great Britain state control promises to be just as thorough but a good deal less blatant.

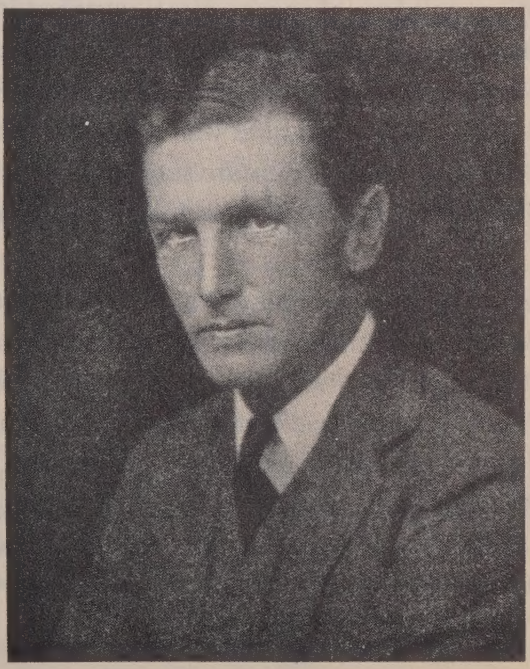
The world at the beginning of 1938 is not hopelessly and irrevocably divided into camps which must come into conflict. The changes that are inevitable can take place without war, and will do so if we in the more democratic countries only care to make democracy sound, less staid and static. The best that WORLD REVIEW can wish its readers during the coming year is that we shall recover from the Bourbonic plague by learning everything that will make for collective security and forgetting everything that will spread fear.

SIR ROGER CHANCE

Sir Roger Chance, one of the members of the Editorial Board of WORLD REVIEW and Managing Director of REVIEW OF REVIEWS, LTD., the proprietary company, is leaving us at any rate temporarily on his appointment as Press Officer to the British Embassy in Berlin. His resignation will be greatly regretted; still more we shall miss his keenness and his unselfish readiness to give a helping hand in any capacity which could benefit the paper.

We are consoled by the reflection that these same qualities will now be available for the important work of bringing about a better understanding between National - Socialist Germany and Democratic Great Britain.

V.B.



SIR ROGER CHANCE

CES MESSIEURS DES SLEEPINGS

Who keeps the world from sinking to its placid, pre-war groove ?
Who starts the travelling statesmen off, and keeps them on the move ?
Who plans the diplomatic tours, criss-crossing Europe's plains
And marshals secretariats on Blue- and Special-trains ?
Who throws the Ministers in fits with every kind of scare
To keep them shunting back and forth and steaming here and there ?
Whose propaganda fosters sleeping-car diplomacy ?
La Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits.

When rampant ideologies show symptoms of a *bloc*
When flights of ministers appear and board the rolling-stock,
When missions of appeasement, stretched in *wagons-lits*, pursue
The streamlined bullet-proof express of fascist ballyhoo,
When peace-exploring conferences meet only to adjourn,
With endless delegations who must *aller* and return,
The only visible results are profits in excess
For *La Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits, et des Grands Express.*

So on continental sidings they maroon the special coach
Where train-sick ministers apply the personal approach ;
Uncoupled on the Puszta drear, or by the Baltic coast,
The statesmen mourn those far-off days when statesmen used the post,
Securing European peace with dignity and ease
By only taking train to one another's obsequies—
Those days are gone for ever, for they would not suit the books
Of *La Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits, et des Grands Express Européens (et Cooks).*

REYNARD.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

United Face

"AS Japan possesses special interests in China there is nothing strange in the extraordinary importance which she attaches to the integrity of China." These words were published seven years ago by the distinguished Japanese statesman, Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, in his *Diplomatic Commentaries*. Today Viscount Ishii is a special envoy to impress England with the justice of the Japanese case. His looks and manners are so "European" that he will find many willing listeners in this country.

A Smile for the West

Viscount Ishii has been, throughout his career, an apostle of conciliation with the western democracies. His first post was as an *attaché* in Paris and, when the war broke out, he was Japanese Ambassador in France. In the meantime he had been besieged by the Boxers in Peking and had acted as head of the telegraph section in the Tokio Foreign Office during the Russo-Japanese war.

Japan's "Special Interests"

As Ambassador in Paris he tried to persuade Japan to join the Allies in an agreement not to conclude a separate peace and a year later, when he became Foreign Minister, succeeded in his object. In 1917 he went to Washington as special war-time ambassador and there met Lord Balfour and M. Viviani who were engaged on similar missions. Ishii's chief success in America was to negotiate the famous Ishii-Lansing Agreement, whereby the United States formally recognised Japan's special interests in China. The Agreement was abrogated on the conclusion of the Nine-Power Treaty, but Japanese diplomacy had performed a remarkable feat in securing it at all.

Those Good Intentions

Although Ishii believes in an Asiatic Monroe doctrine, he is ready to co-operate with the West in return. He created a scandal in Tokio when he accused the President of the Privy Council of delaying the ratification of the London Naval Treaty and during Japan's membership he was a warm supporter of the League. It is sad to think that, although his attitude is typical of many Japanese statesmen, clannishness and weakness in the face of violence prevent it from ever finding expression.

Despite his long contact with the less reserved western civilisation, Viscount Ishii has never lost that peculiar ability of the Japanese leaders to conceal their feelings. The League Council happened to be in session at the time of the great Japanese earthquake. Delegate after delegate expressed his sympathy with Japan's representative and, to the general astonishment, Viscount Ishii merely smiled. People did not realise until later that, the more he smiled the more deeply he was moved, nor did they know that this happy-looking diplomat was waiting in desperate anxiety for news of the safety of his own family.

"J'Accuse" à la Chinoise

An excellent Chinese calligraphist, but a poor golfer, small, round-faced and bespectacled Dr. Quo Tai-chi, who contributes to this month's WORLD REVIEW, has won great popularity both for himself and for his country as China's representative at Geneva and as Ambassador in London. His long diplomatic career includes a stage as Political Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs at Nanking during the last Sino-Japanese struggle, and he was himself responsible for concluding the armistice at Shanghai in 1932. Sitting in his luxurious gold and lacquer drawing-room in Portland Place, he never tires of referring with gentle and good-humoured irony to the "rape of Manchuria by the Japanese." His English is as perfect as his manners.

Finessing the Financiers

It is strange to think that many capitalists still look on Nazis and Fascists as front-line fighters against the encroachments of socialism. An Italian official recently gave me an enlightening explanation of the new capital levy. The State, he said, had made extensive purchases of shares in heavy industry before the outbreak of the Abyssinian war ;

the demand for war material had enhanced the value of these shares and the State had sold out at the top of the market ; the capital levy would entail a slump and the State could buy again at the bottom. And the public explanation that it was time to bring paper values into line with the depreciated lira is not much better. No wonder that the inscription which I saw recently on the top of a tower in Venice, " *Morte a Mussolini porco*," had not been rubbed out.

Written in the Wrong Key

Politics in Poland have been growing more and more confused since the death of Marshal Pilsudski. It is a significant fact that President Moscicki has been considering a memorandum of grievances and suggestions drawn up by the socialists. One section of the Polish opposition still look to Paderewski as a possible figurehead and not long ago the 76-year old pianist issued a dramatic manifesto. But it fell very flat ; as one French observer remarked, the great musician had at last played a wrong note.

Other People's Affairs

The quarrel between President Roosevelt and Big Business shows no signs of abating. The effect it will have on the President's private fortune is still in doubt. A cousin of his who looks after his money for him asked him recently for instructions about investing a part of it.

" That's entirely your affair," replied the President. The cousin immediately bought a large number of Government bonds. " And now," he wrote, " it's entirely *your* affair."

Miracles Made Safe

According to the Wall Street legend there is no talking to the President because he has become a megalomaniac. Reports state that he went fishing one day with Jim Farley, the organiser of the Democratic party.

At the end of the day the President stood up in the boat and scanned the horizon. " Are there any warships about, Jim ? " he asked. " No, Franklin, none." " Are there any submarines ? " " No." " Are there any bombers ? " " No, Franklin. What are you getting at ? " " Well, Jim, if there aren't any warships or any submarines or any bombers, I guess I'll walk upon the waters."

THE OPEN FORUM

CHINA AND BROKEN TREATIES
Retribution Will Follow

by QUO TAI-CHI

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men of international fame. This month we are honoured by an expression of his country's views by the Chinese Ambassador in London, who was also a delegate at the Brussels Conference of Pacific Powers

AFTER Geneva—Brussels.

After Brussels—parallel representations by Great Britain, the United States, and France.

After parallel representations—a communiqué expressing readiness of British and French Ministers " to co-operate with other Powers similarly placed to protect the rights and interests and to meet the obligations arising from international treaties relating to that part of the world."

After the communiqué—what ?

International altruism which can never be expected to function ; collective security written down almost to extinction ; individual, selfish nationalistic policy preferring to shirk rather than to venture —all may seem to spell the one word : futility.

The vitality and hold treaties must have if civilised relations are to exist among nations ; the wickedness of unilateral denunciation of treaties—the most eminent persons have spoken about these in terms of the greatest urgency all through the year 1937.

But the Covenant of the League of Nations is a treaty between China and all the other signatories, just as it is a treaty between any other country which an aggressor attacks and all the other signatories.

The Nine Power Treaty is, equally, not a minor commitment but

a major treaty. " The eight nations sitting at the council-table with China have given to her a Magna Charta for all the future, that her sovereignty should not be jeopardised nor her territorial integrity invaded." So spoke Senator Underwood on January 23, 1922, as a member of the United States Delegation, when the Nine Power Treaty was at last ready to be signed. It was not a hasty treaty and was freely entered into by all the signatory Powers. It was not a one-sided treaty. China conceded much for the guarantees to her. It is not an out-dated treaty. It is fifteen years old only, fifteen years in which all its anticipations both of hope and of fear have stayed valid. Fundamental treaties are made to last longer than that. The Japanese were there then and were under suspicion then. There had been the Twenty-One Demands of 1915, the Allied Powers had had trouble in getting Japan out of Siberia when they themselves left ; part of the work of the Conference was to push Japan out of Shantung.

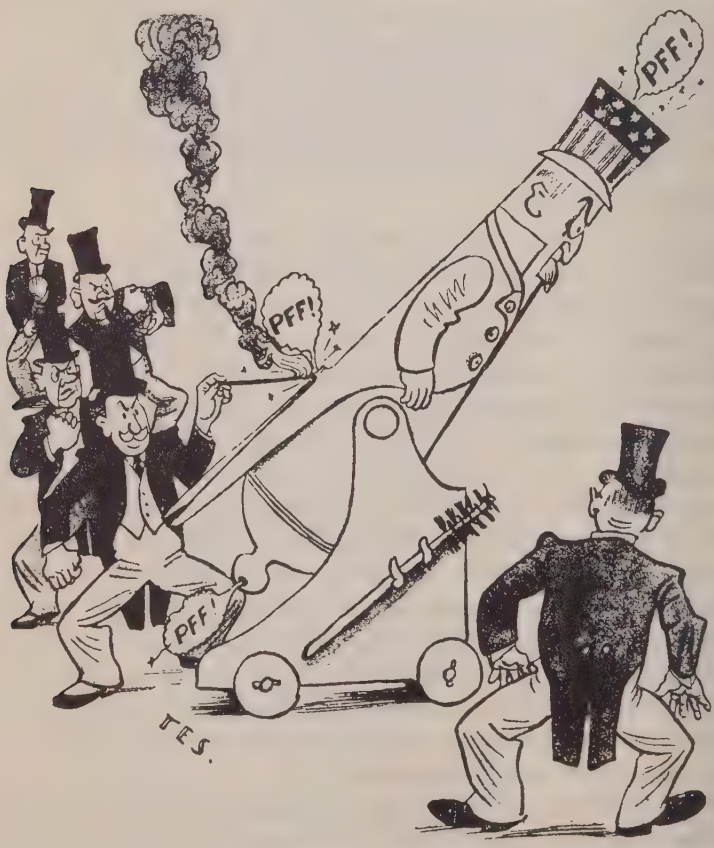
China Has Kept Faith

China, I think I can say, has fully done her part. She is being attacked by Japan now because Chinese unification has become apparent and because unified China was putting her house in good order. More—China longed to use every dollar she could command in order to get economic reconstruction accomplished, yet she diverted money, at great sacrifice, to build up her national army for defence. If her military measures were not yet complete, if in aircraft, artillery and submarines she is not adequately equipped to meet a Power that has long subordinated every other question of national welfare to the matter of aggressive arms by land and sea, what country of the West shall venture a criticism ? Especially when China is told that, with greater resources, other countries have no army and no navy that can back treaties they have signed ! At the last the Chinese common soldier has shown China's good faith in treaty observance ! Country boys out of farthermost China offered their flesh to Japanese bombs around Nanking before ultimately they wavered and broke. There can be only praise of their raw valour.

The last five months have given no Chinese much time for pondering. Yet I have been driven to reflect upon two facts regarding major treaties. The first fact is—that major political treaties have never been signed only in order to commence a whittling-down process to

the barest legalistic quibbles. The second fact is—that such major treaties always have a background of moral " categorical imperative " equal to the literal articles. International good faith assumes this vigorous moral source of constant life breathed upon bare bones.

Nor is the Nine Power Treaty a remote document in its relation to the welfare of Europe. One of the first impressions gained in reviewing European history during the last half-century is how very much considerations about China influenced the course of purely European arrangements. Surely that importance for Europe has not diminished



"Die Brennessel," Berlin.

World Democracy's biggest gun . . . was a bit of a disappointment at Brussels.

since the World War. No. If international economic co-operation is truly the panacea for 1938 and thereafter, then China can be the keystone of possible European appeasement, even more than colonies or all the problems of Central Europe. Thus, fulfilment of the Nine Power Treaty would be by no means an act of benevolence toward China without reward for those with the moral, political and commercial intelligence to read the Nine Power Treaty as we Chinese read it.

(It is, I may add in parentheses, an invitation to irony that a century ago Europeans and Americans set out to force China into treaties of trade and diplomatic commitments and were equally active in trying to persuade China to trade without forcing. Now that we Chinese are eager to develop our country in collaboration with the West, not a European country and not an American country will be downright in protecting that which they assaulted China in days gone by to induce.)

One further point, even more obvious, seems to need re-statement. Major treaties are made for times of stress and danger. Such treaties are a pledge of co-operation when danger threatens, or they are a betrayal. It is not for times when all goes well but for the times when peril must accompany fulfilment that statesmen confer across a table during weary days and weeks and months. If there is not to be something more than bare adequacy (or not even that) at serious junctures, why trouble to make major treaties at all? Better confine treaty-making to matters of import and export quotas that can be figured exactly to a mathematical minimum.

What Happened at Brussels

Let us leave the League of Nations (but without forgetting it) and go to Brussels. Take the two essential articles of the Nine Power Treaty :—

> *Article I.*—The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China ; (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government ; . . .
>
> *Article VII.*—The Contracting Powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Parties concerned.

Article VII is rather vague and ambiguous. But it does not—or should not—dilute the vigour of Article I, and it does not deserve Signor Mussolini's personal jibe at Mr. Norman Davis for childishness in coming to a conference with such terms of reference. The real terms of reference are in Article I. Article VII was drawn up when, perhaps, international good faith had a sounder background of implications than now.

And though Article VII seems vague, it must mean something. Yet, in a review of attempts to extenuate Brussels, I find laid on my desk editorial comments and a correspondent's report in the most reflective and responsible of London's newspapers that connect with what I have said above.

The Times on November 25 said :—

> " The British Government at all events have nothing whatever with which to reproach themselves for the failure—which may be only temporary—of the first concerted attempt to bring peace to the Far East."

On November 24 the very well-informed correspondent of *The Times* at Washington reported the governmental attitude of the United States regarding Brussels to be fairly summed up as follows :—

> " The appointment of a delegation to that gathering, even though its positive value might be either limited or non-existent, was, however, believed to be an obligation laid upon this country by its signature to the Nine Power Treaty."

That is all. Just the appointment of a delegation. A French delegate according to the *Manchester Guardian* listened to the Chinese delegate's final demand at Brussels : " Will you not, then, with your unlimited resources of power and strength, contribute your share by some positive action, even though it may be indirect, to the cause of upholding the principles of law, order, world security, and world peace? " and then said: " He is incontrovertible. But what can we do ? " And so the Chinese Delegation at Brussels was brought at last to face the result that was no result.

More Might Have been Done

I must add a personal comment. China appreciated the earnest desire and the great efforts of the Conference to do much more than, in fact, was done. No Chinese forgets that. Only—no Government said, " We *have to* do something more. We are pledged to it. There are grave risks in the Far East itself and there are perilous distractions in Europe. Nevertheless, the situation has arisen and if we are caught

napping, anyway we can't say we haven't had plenty of warning." I am far from doubt concerning the intention of further effort in the future. But at the moment there is international sterility after five months of very bloody conflict.

Writing as a delegate for China at Brussels, I will be blunt in one comment, however " unrealistic " it may sound. I think China might have had sanctions even in a modified and limited form against Japan and supplies assured for herself. I think the forebodings about sanctions and supplies are exaggerated. The Japanese are, I gather, sometimes regarded as not invariably of exemplary aptitude in diplomatic dealings, but hats off to the diplomacy or the propaganda that induces always, *a priori*, a sense in Europe and America that Japan is invulnerable and invincible, when all the time she really is at the mercy of the outside world whenever it wants to face up to her.

The People Are Ready For Risks

May I, a foreigner, without impropriety, hazard one flat statement concerning the people of Great Britain and the United States? They are averse from warfare doubtless, and naturally and rightly. But is not too great play made of this to justify an assumption that they are against the use of armed force in any dire emergency? I believe that all the great democratic populations would follow a strong lead. I think they feel ready, much more than they did six years ago, when they faced (or did not face) the issue in Manchuria.

Needless to say, I am confident about my country and my countrymen in the long run. But—odd as it is to phrase it that way—it is shortsighted to take the long view concerning China. The ways, psychological or economic, to help her are at hand and waiting, almost ready to operate by themselves.

Meantime, what becomes of all the eminent eloquence bestowed of late on treaties and their sanctity? And if major treaties are discarded and good faith is dethroned and the wanton gods of brute force make their own Right, and successful duplicity continually makes a mock of Truth—for the simple reason that these nefarious forces do manage to accomplish their work in the world—then, watchman, what of the night? I can face the course of my country's destiny, but I avert my thoughts from all Europe, even more than from all Asia, if treaty-policy is forever ready to abdicate each time it sees blustering aggression on the horizon.

BRITISH BOMBS OVER ARABIA
A Challenge to Complacency

by H. ST. JOHN PHILBY

There are few Englishmen living with a greater right to speak with authority of Arabia than Mr. Philby. A friend and admirer of King Ibn Saud and his people, Mr. Philby lives a large part of the year in Arabia and has adopted the country's religion. In framing his indictment of Britain, however, we would remind our readers once again that we do not necessarily share the views expressed by any of our contributors

SPEAKING in July last, Mr. Eden declared that: "It has always been, and is today, a major British interest that no Great Power should establish itself on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. I need hardly add that this applies to ourselves no less than to others." In the same month the British Government announced its decision to reserve a strategic position for itself at Aqaba in giving effect to Palestinian partition. Only four months earlier, by Order in Council, it had annexed 100,000 square miles in South Arabia to the British Empire in defiance of treaties of long-standing with the various Arab rulers and princes of that territory. Italy countered by renewing her treaty with the Yaman.

Italian agents of various kinds have had good opportunities of watching the workings of British policy in Arabia from the friendly mountain-tops of a country once called *Felix*. The Italian Press has, sporadically, shown as lively an interest in British activities in Arabia as our press has shown in Fascist doings in Abyssinia. The press of both countries gives its public no opportunity of minding—or knowing—what is after all its own business. Last July I made several attempts to interest small sections of the British public in what *we* are doing in Arabia. So far as I recollect not a single question has been asked in Parliament on the subject of the latest addition to the British Empire since the occurrence of that interesting event. With few exceptions the Press seems to have rested content in the feeling that the British Government knows best what is best for the Arabs.

It is a pity, perhaps, that the Arabs don't feel quite the same

way about it. And it is annoying that the Italian Government should seek to distract attention from its own shortcomings by proclaiming ours from the house-tops. This form of " propaganda " has however had a definite repercussion on British official complacency. When suitable arrangements can be made by the B.B.C. the Arab world is to be supplied with " straight news " in its own language to counteract the warped news hitherto supplied by Bari and Rome. The British Government apparently does not know that there is already in existence—and of some years' standing—an excellent daily Arabic news service under British Government control at the Jerusalem broadcasting station. What is the objection to using this for the purpose of disseminating " straight news " pending the completion of the apparently elaborate technical arrangements contemplated by the B.B.C. ? What the technical difficulties are we are not told but I cannot believe that any difficulty whatever would be involved in broadcasting the ordinary news bulletin, say once a day, in Arabic. It almost looks as if we are hoping to achieve an international agreement for the general suppression of all important news, " straight " or otherwise.

Facts Concealed

At any rate we can say all we want to say through Jerusalem as Italy does through Bari and the Press. The Italian news is probably regarded as " straight " in Italy. We cannot judge as we are not allowed to know what the news is. An article in the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, dated November 1, 1937, and published in the World Review (December, 1937) on the subject of British " atrocities " in South Arabia certainly constitutes a challenge to our complacency. If true, it is a damning indictment of our colonial policy and methods —and this much can be said at once, namely that some of the statements made in it are definitely true. If untrue, all that can be said is that the British public is not allowed to know enough of the facts to enable it to sift the chaff from the wheat.

This article deserves careful analysis and consideration. Taken as a whole it may be regarded as a highly coloured, grossly exaggerated version of the facts. Its desert origin is patent, as are the processes through which the original story has passed in the intervening bazaars to Aden and Jibuti. The original kernel of truth is obscured by the

wrappings of rumour and imagination. With a few solid factual data any reasonably intelligent man could form an idea of the truth. Those data are deliberately withheld—so only an expert can form an opinion of the facts.

"Humane" Bombing

First and foremost comes the aerial bombing. If it is true that the Royal Air Force at Aden has been bombing Arab tribes and villages, which cannot retaliate in the same way, that is in my opinion an atrocity. Mr. J. H. Thomas recently declared that we would not be bullied by Germany into doing what we do not want to do. Is it fair that we should bully the Arabs into doing what they don't want to do? Let us be perfectly clear about it. The Arabs do not want to be ruled by Great Britain or any other Great Power. In 1929 the 'Iraqi Prime Minister declared that in the long run the 'Iraqis would be content with nothing short of complete independence. That is true of all Arabia, and the attempt of Great Britain to curtail the independence of South Arabia necessitates the employment of terrorism which we deplore when it is used by others. That aerial bombing is freely used by the Aden administration is not denied by the Government. It is actually defended by those responsible for it as a rapid and humane method of keeping peace in the outposts of Empire. We are told that the inhabitants of villages selected for aerial destruction are always warned with plenty of time to get away. Our enemies of the next Great War will doubtless note that the destruction of London by bombardment after due notice to its citizens to quit will not be challenged on moral or aesthetic grounds. Or is it that the village Arab has not the same right as the Londoner to regard his home with affection? Whether ordinary explosive bombs are used or those of the incendiary type seems to matter little. The use of lachrymatory bombs is a stupid and useless refinement of aerial bombardment, but not so stupid as the broadcasting of the fact (as was done last year) from Jerusalem to Arab audiences who jumped at once to the conclusion that poison gas was intended. In September last year I was told by the Nisiyin Arabs of Wadi Markha (NE of Aden) that the British aeroplanes used poisoned gas in their attack on Manqa' the previous June. I did not believe the story then, nor do I now, but we need not put it down to Italian propaganda.

The tear-gas broadcast from Jerusalem was quite sufficient to start such tales. Incidentally two persons—a completely innocent man and woman—were killed in the Manqa' operations by accident. Compensation was paid to their surviving relatives. It is difficult to believe that no other fatal casualties have occurred.

Britain's Paper Annexations

" Rebellion " is perhaps not quite the right word to use of the unrest in Southern Arabia which has after all not yet been conquered by the British though it has been annexed on paper. The initiative of the offensive is on the British side. The Arab tribes do not desire British penetration, much less British control. Their resistance is merely in defence of their liberty and independence, recognised by Great Britain until within the last twelve months. Never, before this summer, has a British official resided or exercised authority in any part of the Hadhramaut. This summer Mr. Ingrams of the Aden political staff—a very competent official with an unusual flair for exploratory work—was posted to Mukalla as Resident. In that rôle he exercises supreme authority as the deputy of Sir Bernard Reilly who, as from April 1, is Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Hadhramaut. *Ipso facto* the sovereign authority of the Hadhramaut Sultans has been limited. It is not unnatural that they should object to such diminution of their status. The *Popolo d'Italia* report states that the Sultan of Saiwun is detained at Mukalla as a hostage. If this is true—and I do not know whether it is—it is a very high-handed and unjustifiable proceeding. His only offence is that some months ago he denounced the forced treaty of 1917—dictated by the Aden authorities at the time to his predecessor on the Kathiri throne. What the object of the British Government may be in riding roughshod over the susceptibilities of these hitherto independent States of Arabia I do not know. It is however significant that the British Government has never made public the facts of the appointment of Mr. Ingrams as Resident of Mukalla and of the arrest and detention (if true) of Sultan 'Ali ibn Mansur of Saiwun. Perhaps they await an opportunity of doing so when the technical preparations of the B.B.C. for the dissemination of " straight " news are completed.

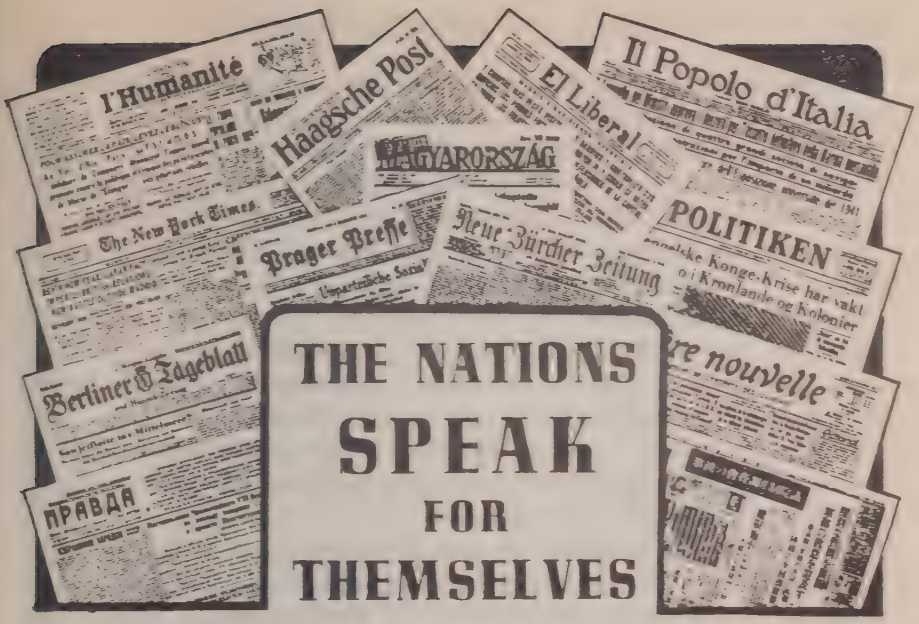
By that time the conquest of the South Arabian territories may have been completed. Meanwhile, in anticipation of the success

of the current operations, a forward policy of economic and intellectual penetration is being adopted. We know from a recent announcement in the Press that a party of three ladies, under the leadership of Miss Freya Stark, has proceeded to the Hadhramaut for the purpose of geographical and archæological and physiographical research. Merchants and missionaries are the traditional spearheads of Imperial expansion. A scientific mission is a new departure, whose results will be watched with interest. But it will not be alone in the field. The quest for antiquarian data will be accompanied by a quest for oil, the existence of which at Shabwa and other localities has been established as the result of my own journey to those parts last year. The oil expedition has not been advertised. The Company responsible for it has been fortunate enough to obtain the exploratory rights for this interesting territory without payment. That also is a new departure. What has happened is that the British Government has given away for nothing certain rights (which have an easily assessable cash value) in territory which does not belong to it. It is conceivable that the owners of that territory may object to or even resist such unauthorised encroachment on their property. The aeroplanes of Aden will be there to argue the point with leaflets and bombs. It is a pity that the Arabs, being unable to read, will not be able to understand from the former why their peace is being disturbed by the latter.

The British Government is beginning to realise that Italian and Japanese methods have certain advantages. The clamour of the ill-armed races of the world for independence must be silenced to provide sufficient dependencies to employ the surplus vigour of those States whose standard of civilisation is measured by the calibre of their armaments. It is a pity that the British Government did not realise a few months ago that the still unoccupied territories of Southern Arabia might have been offered as a sop to the German Cerberus. It is surely unwise of us to hold a complete monopoly of the growing harvest of Arabian xenophobia.

ALLIES

Allies are nations that may or may not stand by through troubles you possibly wouldn't have if you had no allies.—*Des Moines Tribune, U.S.A.*



FASCISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

ITALO-GERMAN DRIVE

by GENARO ARBAIZA

From "Current History," New York

The Old World's struggles, these articles show, have been extended to the New, where the same players are resorting to the same strategies with the same results. How deeply European Powers and Japan are involved is not, perhaps, very well known on this side of the Atlantic. It is clearly shown here

UP to the present time South America's exportable wealth has been under Anglo-American control. Great Britain and the United States are the largest investors there, their aggregate interest probably exceeding ten billion dollars or more than two-thirds of the total foreign investments. They control the greater part of the machinery by which South America carries on her economic exchange with the rest of the world, and their combined sea power guards their immense stake in the continent. To be sure, they have been and

are rivals in the market, but German, Italian and Japanese aggressive expansion has given them a common task.

Germany, Italy and Japan seem determined to break this dual control. However, the Anglo-American position is so strong that they have only one chance to break it, and that chance is war. . . . With Russia and most of the other great grain-producing countries closed to them—for there is hardly a doubt about the attitude of the United States, Canada and Australia in such a war—Italy and Germany, even supposing they are able to get access to the Danubian grain fields, which may be devastated in a conflict after all, would have to turn to South America for food supplies in a long war. This is how a war for naval supremacy in the Mediterranean may eventually spread to the shores of South America, and also how it may bring the United States into the fight. . . .

What are Italy, Germany and Japan doing to supplant Great Britain and the United States in the South-American market, and to strengthen their own position for the event of war? Concretely, they are disputing inch by inch and with renewed vigour Anglo-American influence in trade. Italy and Germany are carrying on the most active propaganda that has been witnessed in South America since the Allies' campaign during the initial stages of the World War. They are also helping to organise apish fascist and nazi organisations in some of the southern republics. Lastly, they are gaining influence in South American military, naval and air establishments as suppliers of arms, and in one instance at least they have succeeded in securing a strategic foothold in the military establishment of one of those countries.

Italy Leads the Way

Although Italy is far less formidable than Germany or even Japan as a trade competitor, she is the most presuming and daring of the three Powers in their South-American drive, for she relies for support on the population of Italian extraction which is much larger than that of all the colonies of the Italian empire put together. Since the middle of the nineteenth century between five and six million Italians have crossed the sea to set up their tents in South America and now the Italian strain is found probably in fifteen million or more.

In the South-American commercial battlefield, Germany, Italy

and Japan have waged a guerilla war against their stronger rivals in almost every line, particularly since the British trade recession at the beginning of the Twenties and the American recession toward the end of the same decade. But they have won their most important gains since the crash. In 1929 the exports of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan to Latin America amounted to nearly 65 per cent. of the total Latin-American imports. The Anglo-American share in that percentage was about 83 per cent., while the German, Italian and Japanese share did not exceed 17 per cent. In 1936, the Anglo-American share had gone down to 72 per cent. while the German, Italian and Japanese share had climbed to 28 per cent. Centralisation of foreign trade under Government guidance, diplomatic action, cheaper prices, diligence in seeking and securing business, the German barter strategy and propaganda among their settled nationals were factors in the increase. It was in a counter move to stop the expansion of German trade in Brazil, that the United States granted that country a $60,000,000 gold credit last July.

A Province of the Latin World

Propaganda is being carried on through the Press and in books, lectures, interviews and dispatches from Rome, Berlin and Tokyo. Fascist literature appeals to the " Latin " pride. Rome, with Mussolini, is at the head of a new civilisation, a renaissance of the old and glorious Latin civilisation that led the world before, and is to lead the world again. All the " Latin " peoples are to be organised into a great " cultural " league, according to Signor Nicola Pende, of the University of Rome, who publishes an appeal in the South-American Press. He says that the league has already been joined by " half a million intellectuals through South America," and at the present time Italian agents are making preparations for a " great international Latin cultural congress " which is to meet at Buenos Aires and which, " will place Rome," Signor Pende tells us, " by the unanimous vote of the Latin nations at the head of the Latin cultural world." Latin America is, of course, a province of the Latin world. This appeal appears in the pro-fascist *El Comercio*, the wealthiest paper of Lima, under the title " For the Cultural Empire of Fascist Italy."

With the help of the Catholic Church, Italian-paid propaganda

has completely bamboozled a large part of South American public opinion into a hostile attitude toward republican Spain, and a favourable attitude toward aggressive Italian policy in world affairs.

Fascist and Nazi groups and political parties have been formed in Brazil, Chile, Argentina and other countries, in most cases with the aid of Italian and German agents. Representative Meza in Santiago charged not long ago that German concerns are supporting the Chilean Nazi party financially, and the Açao Integralista Brasileira that claims a million fascists in Brazil is said to have had the backing of an Italian banker and German industrialists. . . .

Brisk Armament Trade

But the Fascist Powers' drive has not stopped at trade gains, Press propaganda and the organisation of mimetic fascism. It has gone further than that.

They are promoting the present armament boom among the South American republics, and they have been supplying arms to most of them. They are today making a determined effort to furnish them with warships at advantageous sale terms.

Mitsubishi, the Japanese naval constructors, have been particularly insistent in doing business with Brazil and Chile. Not long ago there was a report circulating in Brazil that Japan had offered the Brazilian Government 200,000,000 yen worth of warships to be paid for half in coffee and half in cash over a ten-year period. More recently the Japanese submitted to the Brazilian Federal Trade Council a $100,000,000 plan for the reorganisation of the Brazilian merchant marine.

Germany is selling munitions to almost every country in South America. In many instances the Krupp and Rhein-Metall Borsig wares are being exchanged for South American foodstuffs and raw materials, and it has been reported that Venezuela is negotiating with Germany for the construction of two destroyers. Some time ago the Nazi Government awarded three scholarships for military training to officers of the Ecuadorean army, and the commercial agreement concluded last May between Germany and Colombia opens to Germany the door for oil investments in that country. Chile is buying bombing planes in Germany.

Italy has sold warships to Brazil and to Argentina and is marketing

munitions and military aircraft throughout South America. Mussolini has sent air and military missions to several countries, and he has offered scholarships in military academies to some of the South American governments. According to a recent report, the Italian Government a few months ago offered Chile two 10,000-ton cruisers of the 1930 class in exchange for Chilean nitrate and certain concessions.

And Italy has made the boldest move in this game by setting up an assembling factory of bombing planes on the west coast of South America. Last year the Peruvian Government signed a contract with the Caproni aircraft company of Milan for the construction of a $75,000 plant at Las Palmas, ten miles from Lima, and now the site of the largest hangar in South America. The Italians are financing the deal against plane sales. Steel for the plant was made in Germany. . . .

On a strategic point midway down the west of the continent, commanding communications with all countries bordering upon that coast and with landlocked Bolivia, Italy—using in Peru the same tactics she has used in Bulgaria, where the Caproni company has another plant—has secured a *pied à terre* which is the biggest question mark about her intentions in the southern continent. This question mark still grows more in size when you become acquainted with some details of Italian plans for airline concessions over the South Atlantic. . . .

Fascist Crony

Benavides, the present Dictator of Peru, has turned out to be Mussolini's best tool in South America. In constant fear of an uprising—for, as the last voided elections showed, he is opposed by a large majority—Benavides has no more immediate use for Caproni bombers than to terrorise and exterminate *apristas* in case they revolt. But there are other reasons. The Benavides dictatorship is as corrupt and venal as the previous Leguía dictatorship, well known to Americans. The Italian interests rank very high among the foreign interests in Peru. Their investments probably aggregate more than $100,000,000. Italian banking has the most active institution in the field there, a bank that maintains close relations with the Peruvian Government. Italy has admitted Peruvian air cadets for training in the Italian military aviation academy, and to complete the picture, Mussolini

has sent fascist police officers to Peru in order to train the Peruvian police in fascist methods.

The Inter-American Technical Aviation Conference held at Lima last September brought about a most interesting situation in connection with this Italian foothold in Peru's military aviation. All the American nations participated in it, and the United States sent for the occasion the aircraft carrier *Ranger*, the Navy's newest and swiftest craft in that category, carrying seventy-eight planes and accompanied by two destroyers. The Italians had no business at the conference, which was purely inter-American. But they would not let the Americans threaten their position as suppliers of bombing planes to Peru, and with the aid of the Peruvian Government they managed to find an excuse to get in—they went there to pay tribute to the memory of Jorge Chavez, the famous Peruvian flier, and they sent for that purpose a shipload of planes aboard the *Gloria Stella*, and a commission of forty members to demonstrate the planes.

The affair developed into a sales promotion air show and a competition between Americans and Italians. Witnesses of the event will tell you that the Italians stole the show, and sold six more large bombers to the Peruvian Government besides. No American sales have been reported as a result of the conference. . . .

BRAZIL: THE NAZIS' TROJAN HORSE

By R. A. MARTINEZ

From "New Masses" (Communist), New York

By far the biggest South American State, Brazil, four-fifths the size of Europe, has a population, which, although doubling itself every twenty years, is still no greater than that of the British Isles. German Colonists, now 800,000 *strong, have played a large part in the development of the country, and eyes in the Fatherland are now turned more keenly than ever towards its immense natural resources*

THE seizure of power by a small group of unscrupulous men, strongly entrenched in the army and supported by the reigning economic interests, is assuredly no novelty in Brazilian history. One of a triumvirate of generals, the present dictator, Getulio Vargas, attained power in 1930 in just that fashion. The frequency with

which such coups have occurred throughout Latin America seems to have led an influential portion of the American press into a false and dangerous optimism. It is assumed that the Vargas coup differs in no essential from similar episodes in the past. Any such conclusion not only betrays an ignorance of Brazil's recent history but is of distinct dis-service to the people of the United States. . . . The present Vargas regime would be impossible without the fascist offensive in Europe and Asia. This alone distinguishes it most sharply from the past.

In November, 1935, the Vargas government smashed an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist revolt under the leadership of the National Liberation Alliance, of which Luis Carlos Prestes was and is the organizer and inspiration. . . . Having crushed the revolt, Vargas immediately assumed full dictatorial power. . . . A huge fascist propaganda machine, subsidised by the German government, came into existence. Fifteen newspapers are now published in the German language. A number of the most important daily papers in Rio de Janeiro and other cities are German-owned. Four German radio stations broadcast fascist propaganda to Brazil. Every day, for one full hour, the Brazilian government itself presents a fascist broadcast. Every local station in the country is compelled to rebroadcast this programme. For the most part, this programme features " news " from Berlin, Rome, and Burgos.

Deputy Cafe Filho stated in the Chamber of Deputies that Hitlerist youth organisations, " which pledge their allegiance to Hitler every four years, had been organised in Brazil by direction of German diplomatic functionaries." This statement falls far short of the actual truth. There are today fourteen hundred German schools in Brazil, all run on straight Nazi lines. . . . The eight hundred thousand Germans in Brazil constitute the main basis of fascism.

Brazil's Chief Trader

This propaganda machine would in turn have been impossible without Nazi economic penetration. In 1936 Germany displaced the United States as Brazil's chief trader. At the beginning of 1937 it appeared that the United States was going to recapture its former leadership. Brazil signed an agreement with the United States whereby the U.S. Treasury undertook to sell up to sixty million dollars

WHERE THE CHILDREN WALK ON COFFEE

Coffee (8 - a lb. in Germany and periodically burnt in Brazil to keep up the price) is laid on the street and children trot over it to remove the husks

in gold to the Brazilian government to stabilise the Brazilian exchange and establish a central bank for Brazil. In return, the United States was to get more favourable trade concessions. But Germany was not displaced. Vargas made promises to Washington but handed over commercial orders to Berlin.

German investments have proceeded along with trade. Copper mines in Parahyba, nickel in Goyaz, oil in Riacho Doce (Alagôas), and 523,000 hectares of oil-bearing land in Matto Grosso have already been secured by German concessionaires. The German Industrial Association has been negotiating with Itabira Iron for control of Brazil's iron-ore reserves, estimated at thirteen billion tons.

A number of the German commercial houses have been occupied with the smuggling of arms into southern Brazil, the centre of the German population. On June 30 last, Maroti del Pichua, himself a reactionary, revealed that twenty-five thousand rifles had been stored in Rio Negro and elsewhere. . . .

Meanwhile, Brazilian politics were not static. They responded to

two types of pressure, fascist and democratic. The citadel of the Brazilian proletariat is the state of Sao Paulo. Here it was that the reign of terror after the November revolt did least damage and faced most effective opposition. The students of Sao Paulo claim the honour of having first taken the field against the fierce repression. The student movement soon set up a Democratic Student Union. This organisation became the centre of a powerful democratic revival in the dark days of 1936.

To Avert the Election

The national election, scheduled for January, 1938, began to loom larger as 1937 wore on. On the occasion of its first anniversary, the Student Union issued a manifesto urging the people to choose the side of progress in the coming electoral struggle, to choose " between slavery and freedom, between despotism and law, between fascism and democracy."

The first state to put forth a candidate for the presidency was Sao Paulo, Brazil's richest state both in agriculture and industry, the most powerful economic unit in the country's economy, and the centre of British imperialist penetration. Its candidate was Armando Salles de Oliveira, president of the Constitutionalist Party of Sao Paulo and a leader of the Democratic Union.

During June and July of this year, another candidate entered the lists. Benedicto Valladares, governor of the state of Minas Geraes, a moderate liberal with a large following among the middle and poor farmers, once a stout supporter of Vargas, joined forces with Juracy Magalhaes, another of the bloc that had helped Vargas in 1930. These two important figures presented José Americo de Alemeida as their candidate.

Vargas found it necessary to compromise. A number of important progressive leaders were released from prison. Better treatment was given to Luis Carlos Prestes and other political prisoners. At the same time, he pursued a policy of provocation against his most powerful enemies (the Rio Grande do Sul and Sao Paulo bloc) in an effort to force them into an armed uprising, thus giving him a pretext for complete military dictatorship. His manœuvres were too crude, however, and got him nowhere.

The mass movement grew apace. When Pedro Ernesto Batista,

jailed despite the fact that he was mayor of Rio de Janeiro, was released, three hundred thousand people demonstrated their joy in the streets. Popular sentiment was sweeping toward José Americo while Vargas, himself ineligible to contest the presidency, had as yet not found a suitable puppet as his candidate.

Vargas had to strike, strike fast, or surrender power to the popular democratic revival. It became a moment of extreme crisis for his German and Italian mentors. Vargas struck. His coup was made in response to this situation and therein lies its explanation.

Another civil war is brewing in Brazil. Vargas's coup is entirely similar to Franco's uprising in Spain. In both cases, the groundwork was carefully laid by the fascist agents of Germany and Italy. Italians make up the second largest group of foreigners. Then there is an amazingly large number of Japanese. There were only fifteen thousand Japanese in Brazil in 1926. The figure leaped to one hundred thousand in 1930. In 1935 there were two hundred thousand. Today there must be about two hundred and fifty thousand.

Arms and ammunition have been pouring into Brazil ; the fascists alone know for how long and in what large quantities. But it is known that a chain of sea and air stations from Germany to Brazil exists for the transportation of war materials. Not a single port of any importance is omitted from the itinerary of the Condor (Lufthansa) Syndicate which operates the airline.

The Vargas dictatorship rests on a very limited social basis. Not only are the masses of people against it *but, as already indicated, the former collaborators of Vargas, themselves no angels, were forced into opposition.* This fact raises the concrete possibility of another and greater anti-Vargas revolt. It would be folly to set the date for any such struggle, but the widest foundation for it definitely exists.

And what of the United States ? Its responsibility is immense. Both for its own sake and that of the peoples of Latin America, isolation would be fatal. Should it be permitted to go unchallenged, Nazi penetration and control of Brazil may very possibly spread like a contagion throughout the rest of the South American continent.

D*AR M*!

Owing to thefts of type by children the Soviet newspaper *Omskaya Gazeta*, at Omsk, ran short of E's.—*Evening News, London.*

HAIL OR FAREWELL?

What were, in the eyes of Europe, the results of the conversations in London between British and French statesmen following Lord Halifax's visit to Herr Hitler? Did they indicate the death of collective security and the League, or a reaffirmation of belief in indivisible peace? Did Britain set her face against all change in Central Europe, or only against change by force? These are some of the questions answered in varying ways by the following spokesmen for their countries

"INDIVISIBLE" PEACE AGAIN

by GRAF PUCKLER (*London Correspondent*)

From the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," Berlin

THE formula (planned by Britain and France) is more or less as follows: we disagree that Germany has a right to colonies: but we are, perhaps, ready to supply Germany with colonies in exchange for a settlement of those European questions which interest us. Under the expression "general settlement" all those problems are grouped which have been for years the subject of negotiations between the European powers, *i.e.*, Western Pact, Eastern Pact, disarmament, and finally, Germany's return to a League of Nations.

It will be remembered that the last time these questions were the subject of negotiations it was difficult for the Western Powers to make them in any way independent of one another. It proved to be no use informing the German government that a Western Pact would only be agreed to if Germany were to conclude an Eastern Pact at the same time. For after the re-establishment of Germany's military sovereignty in the Rhineland and Belgium's declaration of neutrality, Germany had not much use for a Western Pact; and Germany could not be expected then to pay something like a price for a pact which could not notably increase her security. The view that Germany wanted binding agreements in the West in order to have a free hand in the East originated in the West and showed itself to be without foundation.

So something had to be found for which payment might be demanded, and it was hoped that this had been found in the Colonial question.

It might appear that the last sentence of the London communiqué leaves out Germany's return to the League of Nations. In this sentence, it is true, it is stated that the two governments in no way depart from their old conception of international co-operation—that is, collective security and the League—but are ready to enter into negotiation with all governments, that is to say also with those who do not share this conception.

This statement doubtless signifies progress since the time when Germany's return to the League was always made a condition for any agreement. But this progress must not be over-estimated. England and France have not dropped the League. They have only realised that it is impossible in its present form for Germany and that negotiations about its reform must precede a return of Germany to Geneva. The most that can be said, therefore, is that England and France have officially recognised that the Covenant is in need of reform.

DEATH OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

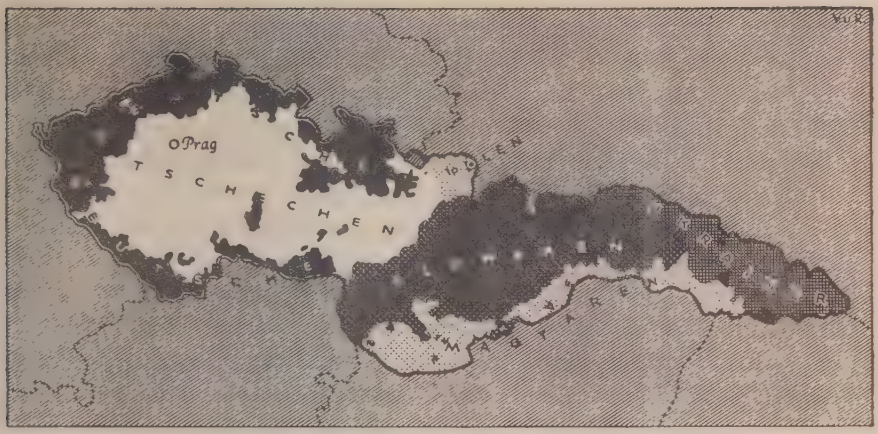
Does England Guarantee Czechoslovakia?

by L.-O. FROSSARD

From "L'Homme Libre," Paris

IT needed the London communiqué to make it obvious that we have renounced the myth of collective security. We have lived, since the war, with the comforting idea that Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations ensured the security of one and all, and that a country, if it were the victim of unprovoked aggression, had the right to count on the immediate assistance of all other countries. We thought that our particular pacts, because they were inserted into the framework of the general covenant and were of a defensive nature only, did not expose us to any inordinate dangers. But today everything seems to have changed. No one refers to Article 16 of the Covenant any more, or even to the Covenant itself. No one turns to the League of Nations any more, unless to point out and deplore its weakness, its impotence, its dismal, slow decrepitude.

I know explanations are not lacking. The truth is that a League



WOULD BRITAIN PROTECT THIS STATE?
A German propaganda map of Czechoslovakia, showing Germans living in the black portion. Slovaks, Ukrainians and Magyars in the dotted, and Czechs only in the white portions.

of Nations which has the effective collaboration of neither the United States, Germany, nor Japan, which has no means of enforcing its decisions, represents, looking at it in the most favourable light, only a moral force, respectable of course, and, if you like, a hope for the distant future. But peace and war do not depend on it, neither the organisation of peace nor the outcome of war.

Such are the hard realities of the present moment. A great nation like ours has the right to be warned. And it is the duty of the leaders of that nation to warn her if she is to prepare herself to face dangers which the facts barely hide.

The unanimous opinion is that if peace is endangered during the next few months it will be in Central Europe. Let us speak plainly : all the world thinks that Hitler's next offensive will be against Czechoslovakia. What form will it take ? That of a sudden invasion of " enemy " territory ? Or will he help national minorities, previously incited to " spontaneous " insurrection ? The second hypothesis seems more likely than the first. One cuts a better figure in the eyes of the world if one only intervenes to protect " blood brothers " who call on one for help ! So I ask the question which is in every mind : what would we do under either one of these hypotheses? Czechoslovakia is our ally. We have recently renewed the treaty which binds us to her. We are, in her eyes, the guarantors of her

integrity. If she is attacked honour demands that we go to her aid. Should we be alone? Article 16 assured us that in this event all the member States of the League would join France. Article 16! Who still thinks that it will work? And if it does not what will England's attitude be? The London communiqué only considers the "peace" of Central Europe—which does not necessarily mean the maintenance of the *status quo*, and this cannot be interpreted as the adherence of England to the engagements of France. For Mr. Chamberlain the frontiers of England are on the Rhine, where they become identical with ours. But what about the frontiers of Czechoslovakia? Will she join us in defending them? I ask the question. Has England been asked it? It is serious.

MOSCOW HAILS NAZI DEFEAT

From the "Moscow Daily News"

THE London conversations were preceded by a wide campaign on the part of the German fascists and their henchmen in foreign countries, especially in Britain. This campaign, as usual, had all the marks of blackmail, intimidation and extortion, typical of German diplomacy. Speaking at Augsburg on November 21, Hitler said that the German government is ready to waive its colonial claims for six years on condition that it receive suitable compensation in Europe.* The German diplomats launched rumours through the press that the ground had been prepared for an agreement between Germany and Britain. The German fascist press was already feeding the hungry people at home with fables to the effect that Germany was about to be granted freedom of action in Central Europe and that her claims would be satisfied at the expense of Austria and Czechoslovakia.

On the eve of the London negotiations the influential *Times* opened its columns for letters and articles by all kinds of British pro-Germans, who demanded that an agreement be reached with Germany by satisfying her appetite in one or another sphere. Lord Halifax, who is known to be the most pronounced representative of the pro-Germans in the British government, went to pay his respects to Hitler at Berchtesgaden.

* *Herr Hitler made no statement such as this. He predicted that if Germany's colonial claims were voiced more and more loudly, ways of settling them would be discussed within six years.*

The conversations held behind the scenes between Halifax and Hitler gave rise to alarm in Europe, the more so since the whole world was still under the fresh impression of the " anti-Comintern pact " concluded between Germany, Italy and Japan, which by universal consent represents the fixation of the further aggressive plans of these countries.

The German diplomats miscalculated in thinking that they could drive a wedge between France and Britain during the London conversations. The official communiqué issued after the negotiations were over pointed out that the two governments, that is, Britain and France, have common interests in regard to the preservation of peace in Central and Eastern Europe. Britain and France did not agree to combinations from which the countries of Central and Eastern Europe should be excluded ; the Italo-German dreams of a " four-power pact " were not realised. Both the French and the British press point out that both sides in the negotiations felt a pressing need of unity.

Thus the German diplomats, who attempted with the assistance of their British henchmen to strike a fresh blow at peace, suffered a pitiful fiasco in London. The French press is perfectly justified in stating that the plot of the British pro-Germans to establish an Anglo-German *entente* and give freedom of action to Hitler in Central and Eastern Europe has suffered failure for the time being at any rate. This result may be said to be a contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace in Europe.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FORECAST

by ARTHUR G. BARLOW

(*Editor, " Sunday Express," Johannesburg*)

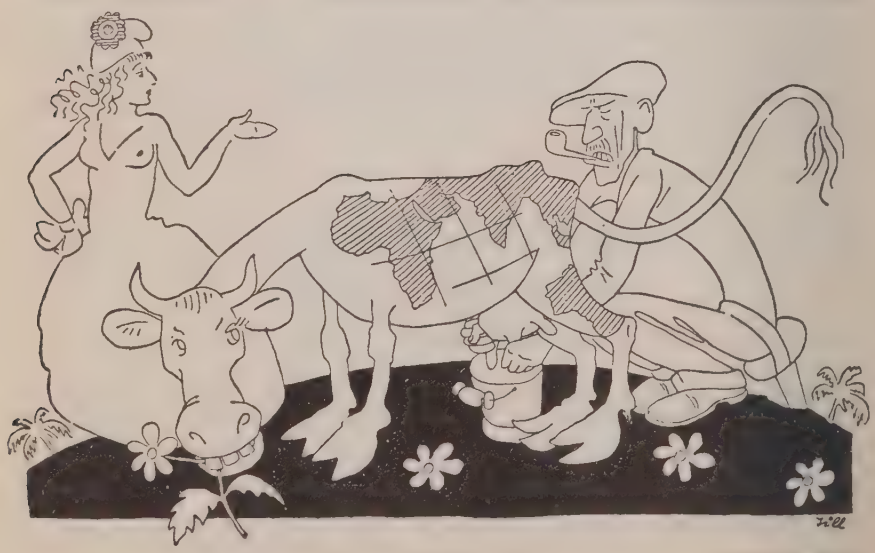
THERE is universal hostility in the Union, with perhaps the exception of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, against the return of South-West Africa to the Government of the Third Reich. Our Cabinet (and I understand that even Mr. Oswald Pirow can now be included, reluctantly perhaps) are unanimously of the opinion that under no circumstances whatsoever shall South-West leave the Union.

The final decision in regard to South-West will not be in the hands of the people of South Africa. A small community could not, of course, hold out if the world Powers decided that South-West shall be a pawn in the game of chess which is now being played between the Democracies and the Dictators. At the same time, Union opinion will carry great weight.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Union of South Africa, although the youngest Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, carries more weight at Geneva than any of her partners in the Commonwealth with, of course, the exception of Great Britain.

The reason for the high and ever-increasing prestige of the Union of South Africa in the councils of Europe, is due to the fact that the South African statesmen who have represented this country at Imperial Conferences, and at Geneva, are of a greater political stature than those representing the other Dominions ; this again is mainly due to the grave problems confronting this country, which are large and serious, compared to the problems which have to be settled in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The clash of the white races in the Union, now happily almost



"*Berliner Tageblatt*"

Marianne : "Curious how no one believes us any longer when we tell them how useless the animal is."

settled, and the terrific size of the native problems, has had the effect of throwing up bigger statesmen in South Africa than are found in the other Dominions.

This, it would appear, is recognised by both Germany and Italy, and the Governments of both these great countries listen more eagerly to communications issued by our Minister for Foreign Affairs, than they do to similar statements from the Ministers of other Dominions.

I have the best authority in stating that before long negotiations will take place between Germany, Great Britain and the Dominions in regard to a transfer of portions of Africa to the Third Reich. . . .

It is more than likely that the territories which will be handed over to Germany will be Togoland, the Cameroons, probably the Negro Republic of Liberia with certain rights and privileges in the northern portion of the Portuguese territory of Angola.

Most of the names of these territories have already been made public by Mr. Oswald Pirow when addressing a private meeting of students in Pretoria.

Should the German Government demand further territorial concessions in Tanganyika and South-West, this will lead to a prompt refusal by the British Group of Nations.

Feelers have already, so I understand, been thrown out by the German Government to the Portuguese for a concession in Mozambique, with the object of establishing in that territory a large German settlement of 100,000 Germans.

This request by Germany is looked upon with great disfavour by the Union Government, and with the present friendly feeling existing between Portugal and the Union of South Africa, is hardly likely to be acceded to by the Government of Lisbon.

FOOD FOR MOLOCH

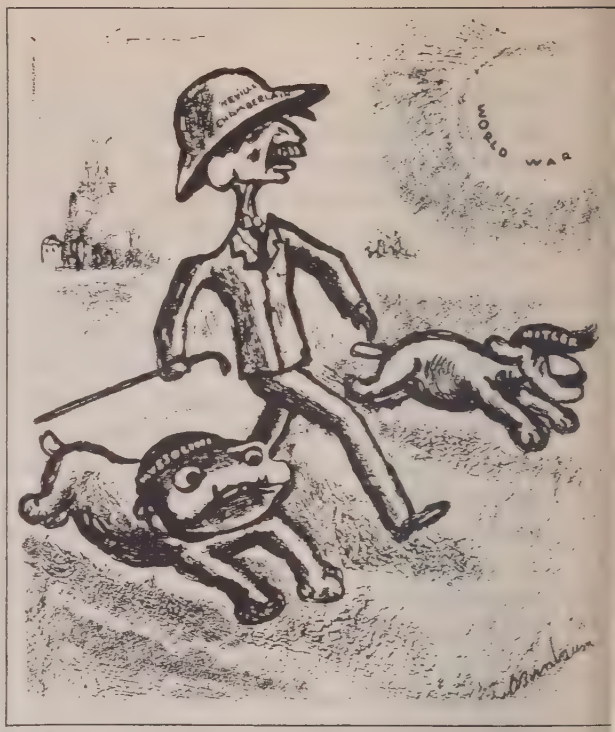
It is said that in order to carry on modern warfare 32 kinds of raw materials are necessary. Germany has only two of these 32 raw materials in her own country. Italy—7 and Japan—about the same number. We possess all 32.—*Moscow Daily News.*

CHEAP

In view of the fact that there will be 23 days' shooting, the cost of the cruise is cheap, cheaper than a pheasant-shoot in England.

The ticket will be 750 guineas inclusive.—*Advertisement in The Spectator, London.*

BRITAIN AND GERMANY TALK THINGS OVER—



MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN
GO OUT IN THE MID-DAY SUN

"New Masses," New York.

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin.

"What on earth's that figure he's doing?"
("Understanding" is the word cut in the ice.)

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Pa

"Germany is demanding Colonies!"
"Isn't Brazil enough for her?"

INVINCIBLE POWERS

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

IT is natural that attempts should be made to excite unrest in Western and Central Europe by means of false reports. The invented report has been spread that France and Great Britain will satisfy the German colonial claims at the expense of Belgium or Portugal. In the same way rumours are circulated that the two great powers of the West are striving to settle the European problem at the expense of Czechoslovakia. All these reports are so nonsensical that they are not even worth denying.

The close co-operation of France and Great Britain is the foundation and first essential of European peace. Never was this co-operation more complete than at present. That is the reason for the particular significance of M. Delbos' journey. There is no question of encircling Germany. But all the countries which M. Delbos visits wish to live in peace and quiet, and to oppose any disturbance. Whoever controls all raw materials and all capital, and has absolute sea power can look on at the sabre rattling of others with equanimity. This calm certainty on the part of the great Western powers will be expounded by Delbos in Warsaw, Belgrade and Prague. The longer competitive rearmament continues the more noticeable the economic superiority of the Western powers will become. The peace-loving powers need only to stand together. Time works for them and for peace.

INDEPENDENT AUSTRIA

From the "Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt" (semi-official), Vienna

THE remarkable attempt to buy off Germany's colonial claims at the expense of the internal and external independence of Central European States can already be regarded as having completely failed ; although it is still not quite clear whether this temptation to indulge in an extremely strange and immoral bit of sharp bargaining originated in certain English circles which would like to refuse all contribu-

tions to a solution of the colonial problem, or from that National-Socialist propaganda centre which a few weeks ago, wrapped in the mantle of semi- or quite official announcements, presumed to issue regulations regarding the treatment of the " national opposition " in Austria.

The agreement in London about Central Europe would be impossible if the fate of even one single State in the Danube region could be settled separately from that of the combined Central European group without danger to the rest. Anglo-French policy is not taking sides on behalf of this State or that in the Danube basin, but simply on behalf of the complete settlement of matters in that region, which cannot possibly be thought of in separate divisions, and which is patiently waiting a new planned economic order.

Some sentences in Chancellor Schuschnigg's new book about Central Europe seem as relevant as if they had been written expressly for this purpose. He writes : " I have never seen our political task in a decisive choice between the interests of Central Europe and Germany which were supposed to be in conflict—that is to say, between a Danubian Union and the *Anschluss*, but in overcoming these points of conflict. This would be possible if none of the Central European States felt itself threatened by Germany, and Germany did not feel threatened by an alliance of these States, if, that is, a Central European organisation could be found which included Germany. This peaceful path to the establishment of a Central European way of thought is not imaginable without our free and independent Austria."

CONCILIATE GERMANY

From " Narodni Politika," Prague

THE English press has written that consent was given in London for the French Foreign Minister, on his journey to Poland and the countries of the Little Entente, to do everything to reassure them. In their capitals he will probably be able to assure them that England, no less than France, has an interest in the maintenance of peace in that part of Europe. One can presume that M. Delbos will try and persuade them to contribute towards removing causes for complaint in their own countries, now that they have been strengthened by the assurances made in London and Paris. That means they will be

asked to try and reach a *modus vivendi* with Germany, which is the aim of Anglo-French policy. Delbos will examine the possibilities and conditions of such an agreement with Germany, whereupon France and England will work out, with the counter-proposals made by the countries he visited, an answer to the proposal which Germany made to Lord Halifax.

FOLLOWING BARTHOU'S FOOTSTEPS

Times Have Changed in Central Europe

by DR. MEGERLE

From the "Westfälische Landeszeitung," Dortmund

NOTHING could be more natural than that French statesmen should express the wish to learn in London what opinions were formed there after Lord Halifax's trip to Germany. It would be as foolish to want to disturb the close and tried relationship between the Reich and Rome, as it would be to see a manœuvre against the equally close Anglo-French relationship in an Anglo-German exchange of opinions. Germany's relations with the two Western Powers are basically clear. What is necessary is for the Western democracies to free themselves from the ballast of prejudice and mistrust which they drag round with them. Towards that end Germany can do little more than wait with patience, till time and experience have done their good work.

Much progress can already be seen. It is for instance a beginning if England has recognised the limits and dangers of the so-called system of collective security, embodied in the League of Nations, or has seen with what discords the Soviet Union disturbs the concert of Europe. France partakes in this development, in so far as M. Delbos has not planned any extension of his journey to Moscow. His precursor, M. Laval, it will be remembered, went straight from Warsaw to Moscow ; but that was at a time when a climax was being striven for in a grandiose game of encirclement and when M. Laval was trying to harvest where M. Barthou had sown.

M. Delbos will travel to Warsaw under different circumstances from those of Barthou and Laval. The former was able to inform Marshal Pilsudski of his anxiety over the German-Polish treaty, which created a new situation in the East. But he had at the same time to try and dissipate anxiety roused in Poland by the rapid *rapprochement* between France and Soviet Russia.

M. *Barthou's Ring Round Germany*

In his pocket he carried an almost watertight system of alliances, which he planned to draw in a double ring round Germany, and in which a particular place was to be allotted to Poland. The necessary preliminary was to bring Poland and Soviet Russia, and Poland and Czechoslovakia together—an impossibility, as has been shown in the meantime.

Laval was able to take home with him from Warsaw in May, 1935, no greater success. He came from his biggest triumphs : the January agreement with Italy, Germany's isolation at Stresa, signing of the Soviet Pact on May 2 ; and he was on his way to Moscow to be fêted as creator of the greatest *bloc* that the French system had ever built up.

In the meantime two and a half years have changed the European ratio of strength out of all recognition. A kind of " reflation " of the Franco-Polish alliance has taken place, and the Moscow factor may now be valued differently in Paris.

M. Barthou went on to Prague three years ago, and completed his journey in the summer of 1934 by visits to Bucharest and Belgrade. It is only necessary to recall the most important dates of his trip to realise how fundamental a change has taken place. One problem certainly remains the same ; the necessity of clearing up Polish-Czech difficulties. M. Delbos will make the third attempt at this —although already a Polish expression of opinion is to hand which would have it that anything which there is to adjust between Poland and Czechoslovakia only concerns those two States.

A second factor remains unaltered—the blind submission of Czechoslovak leaders to the opinion that it is best for this State, following as it must quite different principles on account both of its geography and its history, its trade and its racial composition, to place itself at the disposal of the Franco-Russian alliance. The heartiness

FLIRTING WITH FASCISM.
M. Stoyadinovitch, Jugoslav Foreign Minister, visits Count Ciano, Mussolini's right-hand man, just before being himself called upon in Belgrade by M. Delbos.

with which a French Minister is received in Prague, Bucharest and Belgrade has become a tradition. Nevertheless even in this direction times have become soberer. When Barthou arrived in Belgrade, the Rumanian Parliament passed unanimously an Act making him an honorary Rumanian citizen. This gesture so went to the old man's heart that he declared, that whoever coveted even a square centimetre of Rumanian soil would find France with all her moral and material resources at Rumania's side, for the word " revision " signified either treason or surrender. Those were the happy days of M. Titulescu.

In Belgrade too, M. Barthou met an atmosphere that did his French heart good. A gala session of Parliament, as in Bucharest, and the " No ! No ! Never ! " that the Prime Minister called out from the window, accorded with France's view that nothing must be changed in the set-up of Europe as created by the Versailles Dictate. A few months later inscrutable fate ruled that Barthou should be shot

dead on French soil at the side of the Jugo-Slav King, and so do his country a further service in dying.

Since then Barthou's system, built up to top-heavy proportions by Laval, has been in process of decline. Many of the traces left by him will no longer be found by M. Delbos. Time and greater forces have wiped them out, and the natural structure of Central and Eastern Europe is glimmering through the artificial covering of the French system, like a powerful body through a threadbare coat.

Much now depends upon what conception of Central and Eastern Europe Delbos brings with him. Traditional France has only regarded this territory, and the peoples and States which must live together there, as a chessboard and pawns, which were to serve for the encirclement of Germany. Their individuality, their natural interests, the problems of their peoples, had all to be subordinate to this aim. Fundamentally nothing bound France to them—neither race, economy nor culture. Nevertheless France claimed to add this territory to its legitimate spheres of interest in Western Europe and North Africa, and to contest Germany's birthright there.

Nowhere is an elastic relationship between State and nation, outside determinations and self-determination, more necessary than in this territory. Nowhere is it more valuable to distinguish between the permanent and the temporary, especially for a Power that has only indirect interests to justify its claim to a voice in decisions. It may have been recognition of these principles of Central and Eastern Europe, as of France's existence, which was formulated as follows in a recent leading article in the radical-socialist *République:* " We French have two bad habits. The first is that we want to throw ourselves into every conflict. I say, no : for our Empire is great enough and laden with enough problems to take up all our time. The other bad habit is that we think we ought to bind ourselves with agreements and alliances which come into force automatically. I say, no, to that too : for France must in all cases be able to consider before she acts. It is not the first time that I describe France as a nation which is in the first instance a sea power, with a maritime and imperial face turned towards the sea, with her back to the Continent. I repeat this today " (Pierre Dominique). For the politicians of the Quai d'Orsay that still amounts to a betrayal of holy traditions : for healthy commonsense only the simple conclusion to be drawn from natural facts.

BRITAIN AND THE THIRD REICH

FRIENDSHIP NOW, OR—

From the London Correspondent of the "Münchener Neueste Nachrichten"

Are the English really friendly towards Hitler Germany, and is hostility only due to the Nazis being misunderstood? Here is a German view

WHENEVER the doors of an English home are opened to a German he can be sure of a genuine welcome. He will be greeted with such warmth that it will not be at all difficult to forget the outrageous posters at the street corner. A friendly smile, a sincerely meant handshake imply: "My dear fellow, you won't really let yourself be disturbed by this outcry in the papers, will you? In this country that sort of thing doesn't matter. Fundamentally we English have a real friendship for Germany." Nothing could be more disarming than the warmth of such a meeting, which seems to count more than the lies, distortions and sensations with which newspapers' readers are stuffed. . . .

Certainly there is a fundamental difference of character of the two neighbouring peoples, and apparently opposed views of State, freedom, and justice. Is this difference important? Yes, it is, we think, in so far as it can be taken as the cause of hostile feeling. But, the English answer, to the man in the street it does not matter what sort of a constitution another country has, and there are countless Englishmen who greatly admire Germany's National Socialist system of government. "England's attitude should not be judged by the papers." Very well, we accept that, but what about the Government? Eden, Duff Cooper and several other members of the Cabinet—are they all of no consequence? "Oh yes, it is almost incredible, but these Ministers have no notion of Germany. They are incapable of understanding the German character, which is so foreign to them. It is a pity, of course, but in the long run everything depends on the voice of the people in this country."

If we ask ourselves today what stands in the way of friendship between England and Germany we always arrive at the same answer —that it is lack of understanding, even lack of desire for understanding,

for a Germany which thinks and feels in a different way. We are shocked not only by the lack of knowledge with which men in public life write and speak about Germany but by the lack of any readiness on the part of responsible people to allow a foreign nation its different moral and political ideals. Germany's suspicion of England will become greater to the extent that England demands submission to moral world-laws for which she is even pledging herself to take the field.

There is no doubt that Baldwin, who, next to Sir Austen Chamberlain bears the responsibility for the Anglo-German opposition of the last ten years, only invented that slogan about England's frontier being the Rhine in order to win over a too indifferent public opinion to the thought of English rearmament. More far-sighted Ministers, like the former Air Minister, Lord Londonderry, who clearly saw the necessity of good relationships with Germany, were relieved of their posts. Men like Winston Churchill, that irresponsible agitator, gained, because they were outside the Cabinet, almost incredible new prestige and influence. Nothing was too infamous to heap upon Germany. But every Englishman and every Minister would have denied with the ardour of complete conviction that Baldwin had in mind anything hostile to Germany.

No Vital Interests Threatened

When it comes to fundamentals, no one in this country can say why there should be a feeling of enmity, at a time when the vital interests of Great Britain are not threatened by Germany. The occupation of the Rhineland and the increase in Germany's armed forces decidedly advanced English relations with us. It is true that much more tangible grounds for disagreement seemed to appear, but the Naval Treaty and the numerous remarkable German proposals for the pacification of Europe drew their weight from the fact that this new Germany was an equal among the great powers. Germany could have pursued different aims. By no other country were such positive proposals made. There was no reason for meeting the new Germany in a hostile manner—on the contrary.

Then, after March, 1936, the warning was sounded : Friendship with Germany means peace for Great Britain and Europe ! *The Times* announced the urgency of Anglo-German discussions ; there followed numerous articles in serious political organs which recalled

the Government to reason, until finally that ill-considered questionnaire was sent to Berlin, which was only capable of giving cause for further misunderstanding.

Since then political thought in England has become disquietingly stagnant. Dread of saying "yes" to the new Germany has hardened, because then one would have to say "no" to so much, besides Soviet Russia. The necessity for understanding is more pressing than ever. For months Lord Halifax's journey was urged by friends of Germany. It is the first serious attempt to see the other point of view, which is the first condition of all understanding.

The English have an immense opportunity and no one knows how long it will last if not used now. That opportunity is the genuinely friendly feeling of most Germans for them. Where in the world can an Englishman meet with more good will than from us Germans? And that in spite of the English press, in spite of the injustices of many of their politicians. The average German is truly above the yelping of the bulldogs; he is not very interested and it cannot disturb him much. But if what has so often been praised to us as "Friendship towards Germany" is to become reality, then understanding for German thought and feeling must first of all penetrate England, and be traceable in public opinion.

THE OUTSTRETCHED HAND

by HEINRICH MANN

From the "Dépêche de Toulouse"

One of the famous authors of the old Germany here gives the extreme anti-Hitler view. President of the Literature Section of the Prussian Academy of Arts until the advent of the Nazis, Heinrich Mann is now one of the most active of the German emigrants in denouncing the present régime

IT is a little odd that the leader of a party, who usurped absolute power in a country which until his appearance had been a democracy, should have the audacity to despise democracies in general. It was the weakness of one of them which gave him his strength. He takes that as a pretext to rage against the very principle of liberty, civic and human, as if the luck of an adventurer, insinuating himself

into a chancellery, proved anything at all against the right of the people to rule themselves.

What is even more astounding is the moderation of the democracies towards a desperado of this sort. Some citizens of free countries hold out their hands to him, apparently seeing no danger or inconsistency in doing so. An understanding with Hitler ! What a dream ! And a realisable one, since he has just announced again that there is no territorial dispute between Germany and France. It is true that he promises nothing for tomorrow. But tomorrow is so far off. No doubt it will be enough, for the cause of peace, to examine and solve Germany's economic problems.

Then the Hitler regime would become normal. If Germans were given raw materials and the money to buy them with, their state of mind would gradually become calmer and less aggressive. It would be all to the good of the regime, which would humanise itself, since it wants nothing better than to do so, and was only driven by necessity to cruelty and violence. Once Germany were crossed off the list of dispossessed nations, Hitler would end his career as a constitutional monarch or even as president of a republic in which representatives would be freely elected and the army so much reduced that it could not be the slightest worry to anyone.

It Won't Happen That Way

One feels very strongly that things will not turn out this way ; and yet it would be the only logical conclusion, assuming that the theory of the outstretched hand were itself logical. Unfortunately it is not. The raw materials, with which Hitler already says he will not be satisfied, will be converted into armaments ; there is no need to be a great student to be certain on that point. The people's distress will be in no way alleviated. Imperialistic claims, the scream for colonies, persecution of the smaller democracies and menacing of the larger ones, and, disguised as anti-bolshevism, the uncompromising hatred of liberty—all that will continue as before.

The realisation of this is very depressing, yet it would be wrong not to look truth in the face. A dictator cannot survive the normalisation of a country which he himself made abnormal. If one believes that the first stage in normalisation is an economic life adapted to the needs of peace, it must also be realised that it is practically impossible

to change a war economy into a peace economy without general disorder. In Hitler Germany the limit at which it would still be possible to stop war preparations has already been passed. Official statistics show that military construction prevents the building of houses. On the other hand, industrial mobilisation in so far as labour is concerned will be completed by the spring of 1938.

But the most important factor which prevents the normalisation of the regime is psychological. A normalised economic life would bring back, with prosperity, all those ideas of human liberty and social justice which a people only fleetingly discards. Having no longer to fear either famine or war the people would no longer put up with masters whose sole *raison d'être* had been a state of permanent siege. How could a Hitler dissolve his concentration camps ? He would not think of it. At the very moment when his last political prisoner was freed he himself would be compelled to go into exile—at the very least.

He cannot want the well-being of his people, and even less the peace of the world. Famine is his daily bread. Oppression and terrorism mean liberty of action for himself. The threat of war hovering over Europe, intervention, armed or not, in the affairs of others, anti-communist ideology put into practice—those are his only chance of survival.

Warning to Blind Democrats

Free citizens of democracies find it hard to put themselves in the place of human beings who have known what is purely and simply the negation of all humanity. Some who escaped the abomination have, since 1933, predicted the course of events. When violence becomes the ruling force of a portion of the globe, violence is created everywhere. Today a world-wide conspiracy against humanity itself is following its underground activities. Concrete cellars made to receive the fresh blood of victims are still a means of government only in a totalitarian state. It seems, however, that others are being discovered, and are only waiting to be put to use. Free citizens, good-humoured and sceptically minded, suffer from another fatal disability ; they do not realise how perverted they are who lie in wait for them. Under the pretext of politics they are vicious individuals, capable of anything to gratify a stupidity which has degenerated into sadism.

Liberty is indivisible. Free nations make common cause with oppressed nations, primarily in order to avoid falling themselves into slavery. It is, in fact, extremely improbable that in this Europe of ours free nations and oppressed nations can live together for any length of time. Everything is tending towards the unification of the continent, and the continent will be unified either in liberty or in oppression. The choice must be made, in such a way that the new Europe shall be according to your ideas and not according to those of the other side. It is no longer a question of the outstretched hand, nor of conciliating incompatibles. When the other side bewails the distress of a country which it has devastated, one must reply quietly that they have only to relieve it of their presence for it to breathe again.

THE AVERAGE ENGLISHMAN

by HENRY D. DAVRAY (*London Correspondent*)

From "L'Ere Nouvelle," Paris

IN this country of opinion the government has to take the feelings of the average Englishman into account.

Like the average Frenchman he has been asking himself, for a long time, this question : "What does Germany want?" As he receives no satisfactory answer he ends by saying : "Let's go and ask her." He tells himself that conversations on this subject must have one of two results, either they will clarify the situation, making it possible to act with more knowledge, or else nothing will come of them, in which case one would be forced to conclude that Germany wishes to obscure the situation, that her intentions remain suspect, and that it is advisable to continue to take all precautions against her.

I do not believe that there is much more than that in the mind of the average Englishman. Daily conversations have proved it to me. No doubt the Frenchman is inclined to think British optimism in regard to German trustworthiness excessive and dangerous, and he is prompt to recall the lesson of 1914, that treaties are nothing but scraps of paper.

The Englishman, who is in the habit of holding to his bond, whether written or verbal, firmly believes that no political difficulty is insoluble and, moreover, that in a Europe politically at rest, economic

interests could very soon forge bonds that would be an unbreakable guarantee of peace. This very Anglo-Saxon belief was expressed by Mr. Cordell Hull on the subject of the present negotiations between the United States and England.

There is also a very good reason, for the government at least, to hope that a period of prosperity is near. The moment is coming when a General Election will have to be faced and if it succeeds in assuring, more or less definitely, an era of peace in Europe, the Government will be able to count on the gratitude of the prosperous electorate.

Whatever nation he belongs to, the average citizen looks at this sort of question from the point of view of his own interest. The average Englishman, moreover, is deeply imbued with a sense of his own individual independence and political liberty. He acquired them dearly during the course of several centuries and they inspire him with an insurmountable hatred of dictatorships whether of the right or of the left, to such a point that the democrats who were once decidedly germanophile have become, since the advent of nazism wild germanophobes. For all these reasons sympathy with France has been consolidated, as has also the feeling of close moral and material solidarity with us.

Nevertheless, no one is against trying to discover the intentions of the masters of Germany, and even, probably, proposing to them a basis for agreement. To objections the average Englishman answers that there is a happy precedent for this ; he recalls that once a series of litigious questions provoked incessant quarrels between England and France, and that towards the end of the last century our two countries almost came to blows as the result of a futile conflict. The wisdom of our governments of the time caused them to broach the conversations which put an end forever to these constant pinpricks and an *entente* which no written treaty solemnised drew England to the side of France in 1914.

The other day an eminent Englishman said to me : " The *entente* has now become one of our traditions," and that seems to be confirmed by the cheers which greeted the Prime Minister when he assured the House of Commons that nothing would be done without France.

JAPAN FACES THE POWERS

DAMAGES, FEARS AND THREATS

From the Tokio Correspondent of the " Frankfurter Zeitung "

Japan, already damaged by the unexpected opposition of Britain and America, fears that the path she is treading must lead directly to a clash —which her extremists would prefer to bring about before Britain is fully armed. We give here one of the most significant and illuminating reports which has appeared out of Japan since the war was started

TO her astonishment, Japan finds herself today faced by a " Front " of Pacific Powers with ranks more closed than during any of those previous crises caused by earlier Japanese pushes in China. When the present Sino-Japanese conflict broke out, Tokio was reckoning on the echo in the outside world being less unfavourable than at the time of the " Manchurian incident " of 1931. The Anglo-Saxon Powers, and the other States which then made their vain and platonic protests, would have learnt from their disappointments—so it was thought here —and would avoid doing anything to show their impotence again.

The great difficulties in Europe itself would help events in the Far East to be allowed to run their course. Japan's view, that her struggle against China would directly and indirectly weaken Bolshevism, must be appreciated, it was thought, by the Western Powers. And, last but not least, it was hoped that England especially, after the latest disappointments which she had experienced in various negotiations with the Nanking Government, would be glad if the new nationalist self-confidence of China were to be somewhat shaken by a Japanese " punitive expedition."

But in not one of these points have Japanese expectations proved justified. England and America began to fear that, just as has been the case in Manchuria so far, the " Open Door " in the North and even in the other parts of China would serve to squeeze their interests out. And so the memory of their political defeat in the " Manchurian incident " became a warning to them to oppose Japan, as cautiously, certainly, but also as firmly as possible. Dangers in Europe prevented, it is true, any radical action in the Far East, but made it all the more necessary for the sake of prestige not to submit silently. Japan's references to her task as protector of the Far East against future

bolshevik dangers remained in general unheeded in England, America, the British Dominions, Holland and France. And as far as the attitude of China towards the Western Powers is concerned, this seems to have changed sufficiently to make prospects of future co-operation with the West considerably brighter. In addition, there was the belief that the security of the great Anglo-Saxon and other Western capital investments depended entirely on whether the existence of the present Chinese Government could be maintained.

Future Fears and Present Worries

Regarding the more distant future, it is believed in Japan today that, from the end of 1939 on, that is, as soon as England's great rearmament programme has been to a certain extent concluded, England will no longer shy away from giving considerably more drastic expression to her points of difference with Japan. After the surprisingly strong speech made by President Roosevelt in Chicago against Japan, nobody believes either quite so firmly that the United States will withdraw from the Pacific in connection with the forthcoming independence of the Philippines. And local incidents in the Dutch East Indies have made it clear that Japan will have a potential opponent in Holland. To Japan's disappointment, the British Dominions also have not shown the anticipated aversion to any measures on England's part.

So it is that, while Tokio believes that there is reason to fear the new solidarity and more acutely anti-Japanese attitude of the Pacific *bloc* of foreign Powers in the not all too distant future, even at the present moment, in which England and France cannot, and America will not yet, fight, the Japanese are not without their worries. It is true, it is not believed that economic sanctions will be adopted, but the consequences are already beginning to be felt of the feeling which has been roused among the public of most Western countries by the mere discussion of such measures. Today many an English importer is hesitating to order any Japanese products that are clearly recognisable as such. For years Japan has been defending her constantly growing export trade by all imaginable arguments, with the result that her trade rivals have had to give way more and more. Now, however, these rivals have a new card in their hands, in the form of increased political opposition, and they will be able to make effective use of this

under many guises. And a short time ago, with a seriousness corresponding to economic necessity, the question was being discussed in Japan, as to whether it could not after all be possible to obtain an English credit for supporting the yen, or in some other way to come to a lucrative commercial agreement with England. Today, however, reports from London state that the discount market, which for centuries has been financing the greater part of Japan's exports. is now showing a certain reluctance in discounting bills, even if only on account of the market's opinion of Japan's financial position. In other words, it is only cold comfort for Japan that apparently neither sanctions nor a real boycott are to be expected. For the disappearance of hopes of positive support from the Anglo-Saxon countries is already regrettably damaging.

Must Japan Fight England?

People in Japan are not properly agreed at present as to how it is going to be possible to avoid intensifying differences with the Anglo-Saxon countries and some of the rest of the other Pacific Powers. There are even varying opinions as to whether it is even desirable, and within the scope of Japanese plans, to avoid this further aggravation of relations. There is no doubt that it is only extreme groups that not only regard the Western Powers as the chief enemy, whom Japan is already fighting today, but even consider an acute clash with a still " powerless England " unavoidable. But on the other hand it is clearly enough felt in Japan that England does not dismiss such a possibility during the interval between now and the end of 1939.

Never has Japan penetrated so far into England's sphere of interest as now. Today she supervises sea traffic with her warships immediately off the coast of the Crown Colony of Hongkong ; she has occupied the nearby island of Pratas ; and, finally, she has bombarded the big island of Hainan, lying between the two British naval bases of Hongkong and Singapore. It is well known in Japan that they are not feeling too safe in Hongkong nowadays, that England and France have already made warning approaches to the Japanese Foreign Office regarding the future of Hainan, which lies close to French Indo-China ; and that Japan's peace conditions as regards South China will have an unfavourable influence on Japanese relations with England and France.

The view is often expressed here that, in comparison with the successes of the army and fleet, Japan's foreign policy is not proving its worth. It is hard to judge how far this is due to the fact that Japanese diplomacy has very little freedom of action, and how far it has actually made mistakes in its treatment of the Western Powers. The fact is, Japanese diplomats find themselves in a difficult situation. This becomes clearly evident in connection with the Nine-Power Treaty, which guaranteed China's inviolability, and which, it was maintained in Brussels, had been broken by Japan. It can be read more and more frequently in the Japanese Press that this Treaty, which was to limit Japan's actions as regards China and to which Japan had in fact to agree at a time of political weakness, is "Japan's Versailles" which must be shaken off. But Japan has not yet found herself equal to formally denouncing the Treaty.

JAPAN CAPTURES THE INDIAN COTTON MARKET

John Bull: "Stop! How am I going to get my buttons sewn on?"

"*Die Brennessel*," *Berlin.*

Still more difficult is the position as regards England. It is true Japanese diplomacy is always trying to smooth over differences, and, in part, to deny them. Nevertheless, at the same time, influential circles in the Parties, in Parliament, in the Army and in Industry, are holding demonstrations, threatening England with a breaking off of diplomatic relations and the unleashing of a great anti-British movement in Japan and throughout all Asia.

For Japan the conflict in China, which was started as a little punitive expedition, has now become the nation's main task. With the increase in sacrifices, regard for the interests of the Anglo-Saxon Powers must become less. Attempts to find ways of preventing former friendly relations from being completely destroyed seem therefore not very promising; they would become impossible if the hands of Japanese diplomacy were to be still more bound than they have been up to now by severe criticism and increased activities on the part of the influential circles mentioned above.

WHERE AMERICA MEETS JAPAN

Future of the Philippines

From the letter of a Manila correspondent in the "Austral-Asiatic Bulletin," Melbourne

IN few areas is the general situation so fluid as it is in the Philippines. President Quezon desires to hasten by seven or eight years the complete independence of the islands from the tutelage of the United States. Will he succeed in the development of a closely integrated fascist state, or will a strong opposition develop? Will he be content to leave the control of foreign policy in the hands of the government at Washington? Has he perhaps already begun negotiations directly with other foreign powers? These, and many other questions, are now being asked.

Will the government, when it establishes its independence, be able to maintain its authority with those strong minority elements, like the Moros, whose submission to Filipino rule has always been predicted by Americans as unlikely? Will the Government of the

THE PHILIPPINES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

United States relinquish every bit of economic, cultural, political and strategic advantage and commitment in the Philippines when the Republic is established, or will minority interests within the United States combine to persuade the government that an alliance is possible between the two Republics? Does the extensive British re-armament programme in Hong Kong and Singapore, the new defence plan in the Netherlands-Indies, the modernisation of the Chinese Army and the overwhelming strength of the Red Army in the Soviet Far East, point to a time when the United States Navy and Army may regard a base in the Philippines as less of a liability than has been the case in recent years?

The great mass of the people have been so indoctrinated by the ideals of the founders of the American Republic, through their own

political leaders, that they honestly believe that they would prefer complete independence and a lowering of their own standard of living to a continuance within the American economic and political system. So many are living at a low level that they find it difficult to imagine that things could be worse than they are today.

A common misconception is that the Filipinos are incapable of sustained action and of assuming administrative responsibility. Many Americans and foreigners talk of the Filipinos in just the same pessimistic way that the Japanese talk of the Chinese, the British of the Indians, and in the way the British talked of the Japanese forty years ago and of the Americans one hundred and forty years ago. The British, the Dutch and the Japanese are, of course, outraged by Filipino graft and political incompetence. Seasoned Americans who know equally well American and Filipino politics, find very little difference between Filipino and American political morality. There seems to be no biological incompetence in the matter of thoroughness, sustained effort and trustworthiness.

The highly placed Filipinos are at a loss to know how William Teeling got the ideas about a general Filipino desire for British rule which are expressed in his book *The Gods of To-morrow*, which was based on his recent article in the London *Times*. Filipinos say that they have the names of two Filipinos who take this view, but that neither Roy Howard nor William Teeling is accurate in saying that there is a desire for British rule.

They admit that any Filipino would give a pro-British answer to the question " Which would you dislike most, Japanese or British rule ? " But all argue that this is a theoretical question, because they are determined to submit to neither. They do, however, welcome with enthusiasm all that they hear regarding the strengthening of Singapore and the British armament of Hong Kong. They are beginning to feel that British interests will brook no political control of the Philippines by Japan. They welcome the steady growth of co-operation between Great Britain and China. They are inspired by the success of Chinese armament, and hope that Japan will get ever more deeply involved in Manchuria. They hope that, if Quezon gets independence advanced by several years, his proposed fifteen-year trade treaty between the Philippines and the United States will necessitate the postponement for fifteen years of the neutralisation

scheme envisaged by the Tydings-McDuffie Act. They know that Japan will never be party to a neutralisation agreement that gives Americans privileges that are not accorded to Japan.

They hope that the military programme of President Quezon, Field-Marshal MacArthur and Chief of Staff Santos will enable the Philippines to keep Japan at bay for some four to six months ; that is, until the British and American navies or economic sanctions by all the Powers would bring Japan to terms. The very forceful, up-from-the-ranks Chief of Staff, General Santos, has convinced himself and many of his fellow-citizens that if a Filipino force with only three thousand rifles could hold up a fully equipped American force of over one hundred thousand for many months, the army which he is training, with already a reserve of four hundred thousand rifles, can keep an invading Japanese force heavily engaged for nearly half-a-year.

The present Japanese policy is admittedly one of restraint, courtesy and genuine friendship. Great emphasis is placed on the fact that Japanese contact with the Philippines is limited rigidly to the cultural and economic fields. Exchange professorships are being arranged between the universities of the two countries. Filipino mining companies which do not wish to pay for high-salaried American mining engineers, can get, through the Japanese Consul-General, the names of highly qualified Japanese mining engineers who will serve for P.300 a month.

Japanese fishermen fish in unknown numbers in Filipino waters. The Japanese Fishermen's Association has a Filipino president, Tondo, who sells the fishermen their oil and gasoline, and is the contact man with the higher-ups in the Filipino community, making it a practice, it is said, to know the birthday of every prominent Filipino, and to see that the freshest and most delicious prawns arrive as a part of the birthday celebrations.

Anti-Japanese Filipinos believe that Japan has sinister designs on the Philippines when America withdraws. Other Filipinos see in Japan's present contacts with the Philippines nothing but a perfectly normal economic and cultural exchange. They see nothing as sinister as American influence in Latin America thirty years ago. They believe that the Government's policy will be a combination of pronounced courtesy and great firmness *vis-a-vis* Japan.

THE NOOSE OF DEMOS

by BENITO MUSSOLINI (*unsigned*)

From "Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

HEARKEN, hearken, oh citizens! The *New York Times* informs us that it wants to defend the democracies against the dictatorships. To defend them to the last drop of blood? Gently. Don't let us start dramatising what might be a comedy if one liquid only —ink—were spilt. First of all: which are the democracies? It is agreed from now on that there are on the face of the earth only three democracies, great and worthy of that prophetic title: the United States, France and England. And it is equally agreed that there are three dictatorships: Italy, Germany and Japan. It is, furthermore, agreed that the three democracies hope for peace; that the three dictatorships on the contrary want war; that the three democracies respect the sanctity of treaties, while the three dictatorships do precisely the opposite.

"The Rome-Berlin-Tokio triangle"—howls the American newspaper—"is a military alliance with territorial aims against which the democracies of the two hemispheres must unite to defend themselves. That does not mean the adoption of warlike measures, to which the American people are opposed."

So, no war, no measures which might lead to war. The United States retires in good order and abandons to the two European democracies the task of facing the totalitarian countries on the field of arms. But Great Britain has never shown pronounced warlike tendencies lately, particularly on land; and that is why, imitating their American cousins, the English might decide as was said once before—to fight to the last Frenchman.

It may be these not too brilliant prospects which drive the New York paper to choose another field of battle for defending the countries which have defined themselves as great democracies.

"The Anglo-American commercial agreement is the most recent example of the existence of other means—besides military ones—for defending peace. Other agreements, public and private, between the United States, Great Britain and those countries which speak the same language, may follow; commercial agreements, monetary

agreements, credits, which will act as sure weapons against the violators of treaties."

The newspaper is deceiving itself. It doesn't know its history. It has stopped short at the positivist-materialistic conception of the economic man. The weapons which it seizes are not sure. They are cardboard weapons, for the democratic stage. That it is money which makes war is true, on condition that the phrase is completed as follows : that money can always be found for making war. From this it follows that it is *not* money which makes war ; it is men and spirit ; it is courage and sacrifice. Between gold and iron, Machiavelli chose iron, and we are with him. In the dilemma : butter or guns—a superlatively idiotic dilemma—we have already made our choice —guns.

The *New York Times* goes on to say that the " threat of an economic stranglehold against aggressor governments could be an effective means of intimidation." Another mistake. To start with, nobody has yet succeeded in defining an aggressor. In the second place, it is clear that, for the democracies, the very existence of the totalitarian governments constitutes a latent aggression. One might reverse the proposition and brand the democracies as aggressors.

May one ask the *New York Times*, or anyone else in its place, which dictatorial country is menacing the territorial integrity, the political independence or the economic fortunes of the United States ? None.

To believe that the history of the world can be crystallised by defining as aggressors, in fact or potentially, the poor peoples who have the sacred right not to resign themselves for ever to the all too strident inequality in the distribution of the earth's wealth, is an impudence truly ultra-democratic in style. To believe that these hard-working and dynamic peoples can be " intimidated " by the threat of an " economic stranglehold " is to give evidence of colossal ignorance even of spiritual values. It is clear, in actual fact, that the poor peoples—having little to lose—are more insensitive than others to motives of an economic nature.

We will never be " intimidated " by stupid threats. But we shall act upon them, we shall duly note, word by word, these delicate intentions of a " stranglehold," this democratic noose which is to suffocate us.

The American journal's article gives us involuntary, but immense help in our battle for autarchy.

What is fermenting in the fat belly of the democracies, as their programme, is an economic " stranglehold," suffocation, the blockade, famine for the peoples who don't eat five times a day. Profound cowardice is revealed by this, for such a form of struggle touches the unarmed more than the combatants. Any further discussion on the value of self-sufficiency in the face of such manifestations would be more than ridiculous—it would be criminal. To the threat of economic war, of blockade and famine, those people worthy of the name are obliged to reply in the only way possible ; by the timely and integral preparation of spirit and arms !

MICKEY MOUSE—REVOLUTIONARY

According to reports from Belgrade the Yugoslav censor for art, literature, and drama has recognised in Mickey Mouse a dangerous agitator and ordered the *Politika* to surrender to him for destruction the latest strip or two (drawings and text) portraying Mickey Mouse's adventures, which have been appearing in serial form exclusively in that paper.

There is happily no ground to fear that Yugoslavia is in any danger of losing touch for long with the personality or the activities of Mickey Mouse. But Mickey's activities in the guise of a " Prince " acquainting himself with the alleged corruption existing in high places in his country are regarded by the censor as containing revolutionary doctrines which must not be allowed to penetrate to the unsophisticated citizen.—*The Times, London.*

ACCESS-TO-SARDINES LAW

By order of the Reich Food Minister the manufacture of keys for sardine tins has been forbidden. This prohibition has been made because it has been found that scarcely half of the keys accompanying tins of fish have fulfilled their object, namely a complete and clean opening of the tin. In this way, it is stated, some 2,000 tons of steel have been wasted annually. It is assumed that no serious difficulties will arise in opening the tins in other ways, for example with a tin-opener. A decrease in consumption of tinned fish, which on no account must occur, is therefore not to be feared through the elimination of the keys.—*Frankfurter Zeitung, Germany.*

THE GREEKS HAVE NO WORD FOR IT

The Greek Minister of Education has appointed a Commission to revise the Greek classics, expurgating all references to liberty and democracy. A certain difficulty is being experienced with Aristotle and Plato, but it is anticipated that this will soon be resolved.—*News item in " The Week " (London) quoted in the New Republic.*

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

'TWAS A FAMOUS VICTORY

THE WAR IN ABYSSINIA. By Pietro Badoglio. With a Foreword by Mussolini. *Methuen*, 30s.

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

ONE of the few advantages of the modern passion to rush into print is the view it gives us into the minds of the eminent. What would we give today for a book by Nelson or Pitt? How much easier is the task of historians since every action is recorded on paper almost as soon as it is accomplished!

Chroniclers of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia are exceptionally well served in this respect. The real motives and secret designs of Italy have already been revealed by Marshal De Bono. Now comes Marshal Badoglio to continue and complete the story. We shall, however, be disappointed if in *The War in Abyssinia* we are looking for the sensationalism which made its predecessor famous. De Bono was an administrator and a politician; Badoglio a soldier, the best Italy had. He was sent out to Abyssinia to finish the war quickly and that, and that alone, concerns him. "This book," he writes in the Preface, "is an account . . . . showing how the war was visualised, organised, conducted, and won by the commander . . . . its object is to bring out, I might say virtually to lay bare, the thinking of that commander as it took shape in his mind, and its development and continual evolution."

From which we gather it is not a book to be lightly embarked on. There are no literary flights, very little "atmosphere," hardly any gossip. The story cannot be skipped; its parts are interdependent like the plans of the commander. They have a logical pattern which must be followed with the aid of maps. During the conduct of the operations Badoglio was willing to receive any journalist who would report what he had to say intelligently. He demands the same effort of his readers, and it is one which, if you are interested in the subject, is not only worth while but indispensable.

The Abyssinian business is criss-crossed with question marks and it is natural to look to those who ran it for the answers. Was it necessary to use such an immense force to achieve victory? What were the reasons for the long halt in December and January? Did the Italians bring off a great feat or were the difficulties of the campaign exaggerated? Why were the predictions of all the militarists in other countries so faulty? What was the effect of the rains and would they have proved an insuperable obstacle if the campaign had been prolonged into the summer? Did the Abyssinian warriors live up to their reputation?

To many of these queries Marshal Badoglio supplies the answer, while in every case he makes it easier to form one's own opinion. He does not conceal, for instance, that the Italians started with an excessive respect for the enemy, in spite of their overwhelming superiority in every department of war. Badoglio's initial cautiousness was only equalled by the daring of his final advance—a daring which Mussolini qualifies in his Foreword as bordering almost on rashness. Actually there was very little risk attached to it. For by then Badoglio had taken the measure of the Abyssinians and realised that a modern army had nothing to fear from them. This is not to detract from his generalship. It needed more courage to go slow in the beginning, with sanctions always threatening in the background, than to press on to Addis Ababa with only 20,000 men.

A warning of the menace of Nazism

GERMANY PUSHES SOUTH-EAST

DR. GERHARD SCHACHER

Doctor of Economics at Wurzburg, Doctor of Law at Greifswald

"Pan-Germanism is pushing South-East. Its dream is the creation of a mighty, self-contained empire reaching from the Rhine to Western Asia. The aim of this book is to show the historical origin of the push South-East and the political and economic methods it adopts today "—*from Dr. Schacher's preface to his vital book.* 7/6

HURST & BLACKETT

On one point only is the Marshal silent and that is on the employment of gas. Considering how convincing he is on all the other aspects of the campaign, it is the greatest pity that he should be guilty of this omission, which English readers at any rate must regard as capital. Can he conceivably be unaware of the extent to which, abroad, the work of the Italian Air Force under his command weighs on his reputation?

DICTATORS WITHOUT TEARS

I KNOW THESE DICTATORS. By G. Ward Price. *Harrap.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE FASCIST MIND. By E. B. Ashton. *Putnam.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by R. H. S. CROSSMAN

HERE are two very dissimilar books on Fascism. Mr. Ashton writes from a dispassionate American view-point an understanding analysis of Germany and Italy. His account of the social and economic pre-conditions of dictatorship is penetrating and well written; and the possibilities of similar developments in democratic states are judiciously indicated.

I Know these Dictators is a very different piece of work. Mr. Ward Price is one of the few open supporters of Hitler and Mussolini in this country. He admires them personally as much as he admires their political methods. His book is a piece of propaganda for closer relations between Great Britain on the one hand and Germany and Italy on the other. To this end he shows with an innocent inconsistency both that the dictators are a threat to our interests and that they would be helpful allies. "The paramount factor of their authority," he writes, "is personal prestige. To tolerate any rebuff or humiliation in international policy would put that prestige in danger."

Mr. Ward Price knows that he has not got an easy job to persuade the British Conservative to spend his time kowtowing to dictators. He has, therefore, chosen the method of trying to make us feel at home with them. Many of his pages are fully worthy of the *Tatler*. "There can be few European statesmen whose greeting is so gracious as Herr Hitler's. He takes a lady's hand in his own, holds it for a moment as if it was some precious object whilst his blue, searching eyes smile into hers, and then bends forward in an elegant bow to touch it with his lips." Quite !

LIGHT ON NAZI GERMANY

THE HOUSE THAT HITLER BUILT. By Stephen H. Roberts. *Methuen.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

GOVERNMENT IN THE THIRD REICH. By Morstein Marx. *McGraw Hill.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by RHEA G. CLYMAN

PROFESSOR ROBERTS is an authority on international affairs and his book is a record of his impressions and study gained during a six months stay in Germany of the National Socialist revolution and its effect on the lives of the German people. It interprets, from a British standpoint, not only Hitler's domestic policy but also his aims in Eastern and Western Europe. He does this with a lucidity and conciseness rarely met with in the works of modern historians. He takes his readers through the whole labyrinth of the National Socialist structure and it can be said without any hesitation that his book is a real contribution to contemporary history and will be welcomed alike by the serious students of international affairs

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE

By Bart de Ligt

with an introduction by ALDOUS HUXLEY

Bart de Ligt is the leader of the peace movement in Holland. This searching inquiry into the nature of war and revolution and the use of non-violent technique in social reconstruction will command much attention. Aldous Huxley writes, "The techniques of non-violent activity are described with a sober precision of language, refreshingly different from the vague, well-meaning rhetoric of so much pacifist writing." 7s. 6d. net.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

By Richard B. Gregg

"Mr. Richard Gregg's book is based upon conversations with Gandhi and observations of the working of non-violence movements in India. It is a thoroughly able and unbiassed examination of the case for non-violence. Anyone who doubts whether passive resistance is worth considering on the ground of efficacy could not do better than consult this sober account of what has been done and how it was able to be done." MAX PLOWMAN.

5s. net.

ROUTLEDGE

68-74, Carter Lane, London, E.C.4

and the man-in-the-street who wishes to know more about Nazi Germany than he has been able to glean from the headlines of the popular press.

Mr. Roberts states with disarming frankness that he was given all facilities for study and investigation by heads of the National Socialist Party and had access to all the archives at the Party Headquarters in Munich. One can only ask why he did not make better use of his opportunities. It would be interesting to know, for example, something about the membership in the National Socialist Party and all its affiliate organisations. The Party as it exists now is composed of about twenty different units and formations, but Mr. Roberts gives no explanation. Something on the finance of the Party would also have been interesting. The Party expenditure on building construction alone comes to almost ten million pounds a year ; it would be interesting to know where this money comes from.

The book is also marred by a number of inaccuracies and confused misstatements. For instance Mr. Roberts states that it was Hitler who brought Siegfried Wagner and Houston Chamberlain together. This is incorrect : Houston Chamberlain and Wagner knew each other long before Hitler or the Nazi Party was ever heard of. Neither has the *Stathalter* (governor) the executive authority that Mr. Roberts attributes to him. In all except one or two German states he is merely a supernumerary who has been appointed by Hitler as a reward for past services. It is the *Gauleiter*, the district leader—the appointee of the Party—who has supreme authority over the districts they rule.

Government in the Third Reich is also a survey and study of the National Socialist movement. It contains a lot of very valuable information on the actual structure of the Nazi Party and is exceedingly well-documented. It should be of great value to all modern history research students.

EAST MEETS WEST

THE INVASION OF CHINA BY THE WESTERN WORLD. By E. R. Hughes. *A. & C. Black.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by ROGER HOLLIS

THIS brilliant study of the influence upon China of Western thought and ideas is of particular interest because, as the author points out in his preface, in this case European culture met a civilisation as old as or older than itself. The contacts in the early part of last century, when China found she had to deal with nations rather than individuals, at first gave little promise of culture. China, faced by foreign guns, felt that she must learn something of gunnery herself. The gradual realisation that Western civilisation meant more than guns—that China could learn something from Western science and political thought—is admirably traced.

The Manchu dynasty, which the author treats rather severely, showed little liking for the Western ideas of the reformers, and it was not until the Revolution that they gained the chance to show their constructive powers. The early years of the Republic only went to show that the political machine which had seemed so good in theory worked very ill in practice, but even during these years of continual unrest and civil war, there was liberty of thought, even if not liberty of action. Chinese thinkers were sifting a vast amount of new knowledge, and selecting what seemed to them good. It is of the greatest importance to know the history of such a movement as the Literary Renaissance, led by Dr. Hu Shih, and realise its effects, not only upon a young

and eager student class, but upon an ignorant and mainly illiterate populace, who at last found they could read and understand.

This volume is strictly limited to Western influence on China, and therefore makes no more than a passing reference to the influence which has been exerted on the country by way of Japan. But Japan's action in North China and Shanghai has called a halt—at least for some time—to the free development of China along her own lines, and the book thus carries us to the end of the period in which China, treating the invasion of ideas from the Western world in accordance with historical precedent, was absorbing them and turning them to her own benefit.

A DEMOCRACY ATTEMPTS DICTATION

Reviewed by GUY INNES

AUSTRALIAN LANDFALL, by EGON ERWIN KISCH (*Secker and Warburg*, 10*s.* 6*d.*) is aptly named : the author, denied admission to the Commonwealth, jumped eighteen feet to the wharf, fell, and broke his leg. This was the second scene in a political drama in which Kisch vindicated the right of free speech, embarrassed the government, and occasioned a furious controversy as to whether Scottish Gaelic was a language.

At Henri Barbusse's suggestion, Kisch, who had been deported from England, but possessed a Czechoslovakian passport, left France to represent, at an Anti-War Congress in Melbourne, the World Committee against War and Fascism. His entry was prohibited at Fremantle on the ground that he had engaged in Communist propaganda. Press publicity aroused attention in Australia, England, and Germany. Mr. R. G. Menzies, Federal Attorney-General, determined to enforce the ban.

Kisch was taken to Melbourne. Brought aboard after he had sprung ashore, he was locked in his cabin. In Sydney, Mr. A. B. Piddington, K.C., successfully appealed against his detention ; but, having failed to pass the dictation test provided by the Immigration Act (it was in Scottish Gaelic), Kisch was sentenced to six months' hard labour. Gerald Griffin, another delegate, underwent a similar experience, his stumbling-block being Dutch. He was eventually released. Kisch was liberated on the ground that Scottish Gaelic was not a language within the meaning of the Act. A cable having been received from the British Government that he would not be admitted to England, he was sentenced to three months' hard labour for illegal residence in Australia, and a further 106 days in lieu of costs. Pending appeal, he and Griffin successfully toured half Australia, notably the German districts of Queensland.

Eventually, after the Reverend Arthur Rivett had dropped dead at a mass meeting where he spoke for Kisch, the Crown abandoned proceedings. Kisch's costs were reimbursed, and he left Australia after many hearty valedictories, including a torchlight procession in which figured a " gum-leaf band " of aborigines.

The sketches completing the volume bear evidence of research. They will be found enlightening, amusing, or repellent. They deal with Australian origins, labour conditions, the aborigines (a tragic chapter), submarine coal-mining, sheep, sharks, shale-oil, racing, and cricket. The last, " Bodyline," might have been written by a sardonic Australian ; but in some of the others there is an irony which may irritate those whose sole profession of patriotism is, " Australia will do me ! "

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

A NEW YEAR'S GARLAND

by "RAPIER"

ALTHOUGH the continuity of economic life is not really broken by completion of a calendar year it is customary to make such events the occasion for an audit of our national balance sheets. The year just closing opened on a note of optimism with rising commodity prices and expanding enterprise. The announcement of Britain's re-armament programme in the spring stimulated a market boom especially in commodities. This boom was checked by the deflationary action of the gold price scare and in England by the National Defence tax. After a quiet period in the summer the sudden onset of the Sino-Japanese conflict precipitated a slump both in commodity and stockmarkets which was quickly followed by a definite trade recession in the United States. The year is closing in a maze of uncertainty in which the will-o-the-wisp of prosperity is as elusive as ever.

As I have so often reiterated in these columns, from an economic point of view the nations of the world are interdependent and no nation however it may strive after self-sufficiency can insulate itself from the effects of business prosperity or depression in other parts of the world. Especially is this so in relation to a great unit such as the United States which, with its high standard of living, exerts an enormous effect upon those countries which help to supply its needs of raw materials and manufactured goods. Despite the fashionable fetish of unilateral trade agreements, trade remains obstinately multilateral and a decline in American business by decreasing its demand for the products of the British Empire at the same time reduces the Empire's ability to purchase British goods. Already the onset of a trade depression in America is beginning to have this effect upon British industry and if the recession is not checked its reactions upon British industry must increase. Nor will its effects stop there, for other

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countries will be involved by Britain's difficulties and so the vicious circle will widen.

What then are the prospects in America? We have all read President Roosevelt's proposals for stimulating a housing boom in America. We have also read of his conversations with the leaders of public utility organisations to try to reach a compromise on the vexed question of the limits to competition of State-owned plants with those of private enterprise. We have heard that the railroads are to be permitted to raise freight rates and that Congress is considering a revision of the most irksome taxes which are believed to prevent the free flow of new capital into industry. But though Roosevelt has piped, industrial leaders and Wall Street financiers refuse to dance. The reason for their continued sulkiness is, I think, explained in a letter I recently received from a correspondent in New York. He writes: "On our situation here today the President has had *no* change of heart. Everything depends upon recovery by Congress of its independence and its determination to stop the war on business. Both seem likely but neither is sure. Meantime there is no sign that the recession has yet run its course. Business cannot be talked out of its fear. There must be convincing action. I think we shall get a modification of the worst tax features early next year but I hardly expect more than that—and that will not be enough. I hope I am too pessimistic in these views—but I fear not." Let us hope that Congress will not continue to fiddle while Rome burns but will shortly show the necessary independence of action. Incidentally it would be much easier for Roosevelt, politically, to bow to Congress than to his Wall Street critics.

In the existing fog surrounding the future of trade and industry the unfortu-

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nate investor finds it difficult to know where to place his savings. But it is not only the investor in equities that finds himself in a quandary. The careful individual who placed his savings in bonds has also suffered some severe shocks recently. Take for example the course of Far Eastern Bonds. British investors have a stake of £33,000,000 in Chinese government and Government guaranteed bonds, and of £86,000,000 in Japanese. Although there has been no default as yet on any of these securities their capital value has declined by approximately one-third since the beginning of 1937. On the top of this comes Brazil's default, which affects British holders of £113,000,000 Government bonds and £35,000,000 State and Coffee bonds. These bonds show a capital depreciation of approximately half their value since the beginning of 1937, and it looks as though their unfortunate holders will have to submit to even further cuts in interest payments.

While speaking of dictatorships I am reminded of a recent comment I received from Berlin on Schacht's resignation from the Ministry of Economics. This announcement was generally anticipated, and the only element of surprise was a passage in Herr Hitler's letter in which he expressed the hope that Schacht will remain for many years to come as President of the Reichsbank. This is generally interpreted as Schacht's consent to remain in that position after the expiration of his present term of office next March. Previously it had been expected that he would resign from the Reichsbank next March. The appointment of Walter Funk as successor to Schacht at the Ministry of Economics has been favourably received by the industrialists. Funk is not rated as a radical and has a good knowledge of economic conditions.

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TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

A FINE SWEDISH WINTER SPORT CENTRE

by BRYN ROBERTS

Did you ever hear of Are in the province of Jämtland? Are lies beneath the mighty bulk of Mount Areskutan, one of the greatest of the Jämtland peaks. Below is the long and lovely lake, Aresjon. Following through at each end of the lake are magnificent valleys —one driving west to the mountain barrier which is also the Norwegian frontier; the other containing the route by which you will have arrived. You can choose the route *via* Gothenborg or *via* Stockholm, according to whether you come from England by direct sea route or, if you are not at home on the sea, by the Continent and the Sassnitz-Tralleborg train ferry to the Swedish capital. But in any case you will steam down that valley in your very comfortable Swedish train and the glimpse of Are as you near it will strike you silent with its beauty as it does all who first look upon it. The bevy of chalet-like hotels in their brave red and white clustering above the lakeside; the forests, thick and green, clothing the lower slopes; the funicular, climbing like a toy in the distance, and overshadowing all, the mighty white bulk of the peak itself, with its sisters lifting great heads into the blue.

When you go to your hotel, you will find most people busy at the sports. You go on to the very fine curling rink; all here are waiting their turn. You turn your attention to the bobsleigh track; all active here too. You walk over to the funicular; plenty of people here, certainly, but they all mean business. And even when you really think you have caught some in the act of being mere spectators, you find that it is only the more daring ski-jumpers waiting their turn to be wafted up to the heights by aeroplane. Unlikely though this sounds, there is a remarkable air service here which regularly lands skiers on a field high up in the mountains.

The fact of the matter is that at Are and in most other Swedish centres almost all the visitors are sportsmen and women—and how refreshing it is to spend a holiday surrounded by a crowd of people who feel this way, particularly for the fortunate English who find the Swedes welcome them with particular pleasure. A final—and extremely convincing—argument is that, as a direct result of this absence of the professional onlooker element, the super-luxury in accommodation is omitted—and in consequence, down comes the price of your holiday! And when I mention that there are very special reductions in fares at certain periods, you will see that Sweden, far away though it may sound, is in fact a most practicable winter sports country for the English tourist.

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Go to Are if you can in the famous Are week, usually in March—a week not only crammed with great sporting events but notable for the visit of Lapp families from their winter haunts in the icy fastnesses of the northern provinces. They come round about the town, hold a fair, and with them is always their "akja," the Lapp sledge drawn by reindeer. At all costs try your hand in one of these vehicles and learn what speed is ! You will never forget your reindeer drive.

If you have some beginners in your party, down the line from Are an hour or two is Storlien, famed for its safe, smooth, treeless slopes, paradise of the uncertain on their feet. You can commit all tyros to the care of one of the excellent instructors at Storlien, and plunge into the hard but delightful sport at Are with an easy conscience.

GOOD SPORT IN FINLAND

A BEAUTIFUL, modern hotel within the Arctic Circle has been opened by the Finnish Tourist Association at the " capital of Lapland," Rovaniemi, which is entering a new life as a winter sports resort. The final competitions of the winter season are held here, and there is good sport until the end of April. " Reindeer will be available in the vicinity of the hotel for the guests to

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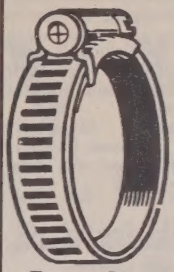

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hire, either for ski-joring or sleighing," says the Finnish Travel Bureau's announcement, temptingly.

The world ski championship will be held this year in Finland, at Lahti, in February. This is a famous centre, two hours from Helsinki.

As Finland lies so far north, the days are long in Spring and Summer. As early as the end of April it is light in Lapland for the whole of the 24 hours.

POETS PLEASE NOTE

" Love," said Hegel, " is the ideality of the relativity of the reality of an infinitesimal portion of the absolute totality of the Infinite Being."

Hitler can hardly hope to beat that.—*St. Louis Post Dispatch.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

GREAT BRITAIN

November 18. Mr. Chamberlain announced that discussions with the United States had advanced to the point where negotiations for a trade pact were contemplated. Australian reaction favourable, some British industrial interests expressed disquiet.

,, 29. M. Chautemps and M. Delbos in London for conversations arising out of Lord Halifax's visit to Hitler.

, 29. Britain to tell Gen. Franco that his right to blockade Spanish Government ports is contested and that attacks on British merchantmen will not be countenanced.

November 30. Talks with French statesmen ended. Communiqué stated that there was community of outlook and that the aim was a " general settlement " in Europe. Colonies could not be considered as an isolated subject.

GERMANY

November 19. Halifax-Hitler conversations at Berchtesgaden. No official indication of their content. Press reports, indignantly denied by Germany, state that the latter demanded free

hand in Central Europe in exchange for temporary dropping of colonies demand.

November 26. Hitler accepted Dr. Schacht's resignation as Minister of Economic Affairs, and appointed him Minister without portfolio.

December 10. Coinciding with Mussolini's announcement, statement issued to the effect that Germany will never return to the League.

FAR EAST

November 21. *et seq.* Japanese advance on Nanking, defended by 20,000 Chinese.

,, 21. Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek announced that China would resist indefinitely.

,, 22. Brussels conference heard protest from Dr. Wellington Koo against its proposed resolution.

,, 24. Brussels conference adjourned " to allow participating Governments to exchange views and further explore peaceful methods " for a settlement of the war.

,, 26. Japan announced that she would take over all Chinese Government offices in the International Settlement and would administer the Chinese Customs Service. Disquiet in Britain, America and France, as large portion of revenue from Customs allocated to payment of interest on foreign loans.

,, 28. French, British and American Ambassadors instructed to express concern over the future of Chinese Customs revenue. Japanese representative at Shanghai gave assurance that, when final steps were taken, " due consideration to the interests of the Powers " would be given.

December 3. " Victory March " through International Settlement in Shanghai by Japanese troops. One bomb thrown and other incidents. Entry into French Concession first refused, but later permitted under French escort.

,, 7. Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek escaped by aeroplane from Nanking.

,, 10. All mediation to be rejected until China crushed, according to decision by Japanese Cabinet.

,, 12. British and American gunboats on the Yangtse bombed and shelled by Japanese, with loss of life.

,, 13. Stiff protest in note from America. President Roosevelt sent direct personal message to the Emperor.

,, 13. Nanking fell.

,, 14. "Puppet" Government formed in Peiping.

,, 15. British Note of protest, asking for measures to be taken to put a definite stop to incidents.

,, 16. Japanese Air Commander recalled.

FRANCE

November 19. Sensational announcement by M. Chautemps regarding discoveries of large quantities of arms in places frequented by *Cagoulards*, the " Hooded Men."

,, 20. M. Moreau de la Meuse, big industrialist, arrested in connection with *Cagoulard* discoveries, which continue to be made.

,, 23. Official statement charged the *Cagoulards* with plotting against the Republic. Monarchists working with German and Italian arms declared to be at the back of the plot.

,, 26. Duc Pozzo di Borgo, former associate of Col. de la Rocque, Fascist leader, and other extreme right-wing agitators, charged with complicity in *Cagoulard* plot.

,, 28. Sûreté Generale announced that they had full list of *Cagoulard* members.

ITALY

November 20. Duke of Aosta, second cousin of the King of Italy, appointed Viceroy of Abyssinia, succeeding Marshal Graziani.

December 10. Italy announced intention of leaving the League.

POLAND AND CENTRAL EUROPE

December 2. M. Delbos, French Foreign Minister started on tour of France's allies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia. Herr von Neurath, German Foreign Minister, paid surprise visit to his train for conversation as he passed through Berlin. In Warsaw, alliance confirmed, but claim to share in colonies entered by Poland, according to unofficial reports.

,, 8. M. Hodza, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, gave favourable reception to deputation from Polish minority groups, and defended his Government's minority policy.

,, 11. M. Delbos arrived in Belgrade. Popular anti-Fascist demonstration greeted him. M. Stoyadinovitch, Jugo-Slav foreign minister, returned only previous day from visit to Mussolini, at which believed he secured concessions strengthening the Italo-Jugo-Slav pact.

RUSSIA

December 12. Polling in first general election under new Constitution, after great propaganda campaign. Speech by Stalin on " the only free and democratic elections in the world."

,, 15. Over 1,000 unopposed candidates returned. Between 90 and 99.6 of electorate voted.

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